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No. III.

The Rising of 1745

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Frontispiece

SCOTTISH HISTORY FROM CONTEMPORARY WRITERS. No. III.

The Rising of 1745

With a Bibliography of Jacobite History 1689-1788

BY

CHARLES SANFORD TERRY, M.A.

UNIVERSITY LECTURER IN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN; AUTHOR OF 'THE LIFE AND CAMPAIGNS OF ALEXANDER LESLIE'

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Pour fonder un empire, il faut bien des vertus;
Mais pour le renverser, il en faut encore plus!

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PREFACE

It would be possible to present more than one aspect of the last Jacobite Rising, but in these pages I have endeavoured to present one chiefly. During the Roman occupation of Britain the North of the island had triumphantly excluded the intrusive civilisation of the South. To the Roman succeeded the Teuton, and out of the racial struggles which followed his advent there seemed likely to result as clear a demarcation as before between North and South, between Celticism and Teutonism. But gradually, and by methods which were fostered from within rather than imposed from without, the social, ecclesiastical, and political characteristics of English Teutonism found their way into, moulded and consolidated the northern Kingdom. In the later development of the two States their centre of political gravity tended consistently to establish itself in the South rather

than in the North, and the Union of the Crowns in 1603 and of the Parliaments in 1707 established it there permanently. But in the evolution of that process opposition came from the Highland districts of Scotland, which, impervious to the spread of Teutonism, and strengthened by an equally untractable Scandinavian leaven, jealously guarded the traditions of a once prevalent Celtic society in North Britain. As it had manifested itself in resistance to the anti-Celtic sympathies of Malcolm the Third, so it fought its last fights in the service of James the Seventh, his son the Chevalier de St. George, and his grandson Prince Charles.

The events with which the following pages deal are compressed within the narrow compass of fifteen months—from June 1745 to September 1746; and I have endeavoured to dovetail the contemporary materials which I have used so as to form a continuous and connected narrative unimpeded by intervening explanatory paragraphs and paragraph-titles. In Chapter VI. I have drawn almost exclusively upon Bishop Forbes's *The Lyon in Mourning*, edited by Mr. Henry Paton; and I must acknowledge the invaluable help which I have derived from Mr. Walter Biggar Blaikie's

Itinerary in unravelling the tangled skeins of the Bishop's voluminous materials. The romantic incidents of the Prince's wanderings, and the large-hearted loyalty which attended him, will be found, I hope, to gain additional interest when related in the actual words of his companions. It is from these that I have endeavoured to construct a continuous narrative of that portion of his adventures.

In the Appendix will be found a Bibliography of literature relating to Jacobite history in the eighteenth century. The Risings called into existence an enormous number of pamphlets[1] which, while they illustrate the spirit and the passions in which the contest was waged, do not throw light upon its events. These I have sparingly admitted. Nor have I attempted to exhaustively calendar modern magazine literature. With these exceptions I hope I have included the most authoritative contemporary and modern literature upon the subject. In this part of my task I cannot omit to record my deep indebtedness to Mr. P. J. Anderson for his generous aid.

[1] A large number of these will be found in a *Catalogue of a Collection of Tracts illustrative of British History*. Edinburgh: Printed for John Stevenson, 1827.

To Mr. C. H. Firth, Mr. F. Hindes Groome, and Dr. T. G. Law I am greatly indebted for their kindness in reading the Bibliography in proof, and for many valuable additions to it.

In a forthcoming volume in this Series, I propose to deal with the Jacobite movements in 1703, 1708, 1715, and 1719. The Bibliography is designed for both volumes.

The portrait of Prince Charles, from which the frontispiece to this volume is taken, was engraved from life by Sir Robert Strange, then a young man of twenty-four, when the Prince was in Edinburgh in the autumn of 1745. I have to thank Mr. W. B. Blaikie for finding for me this very rare engraving, which is included in a portfolio in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. I am under further obligation to Mr. Blaikie for permitting me to make use of the Map in his *Itinerary* and for innumerable acts of kindness and help in my work upon this volume.

I desire to thank Mr. Murray-Threipland for permission to reproduce the Prince's letter to Cluny Macpherson, written at the end of his wanderings.

C. S. T.

King's College, Old Aberdeen,
June 9, 1900.

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CHAPTER I

THE HIGHLANDS AND THE HIGHLANDERS

Culloden Papers, 297.[1]

WHAT is properly called the *Highlands of Scotland* is that large tract of mountainous Ground Northward of the Forth and the Tay, where the natives speak the Irish language.

The inhabitants of the lands adjoining to the mountains to the northward of those Rivers, in the shires of Perth, Forfar, Kincardine, Aberdeen, Banff, and Murray, where some sort of Industry has prevailed, and where the soil is tolerable, have for many years left off the Highland dress, have lost the Irish language, and have discontinued the use of Weapons; the consequence whereof is, that they cannot be considered as dangerous to the Public peace, and that the laws have their course amongst them.

The inhabitants of the mountains, unacquainted with industry and the fruits of it, and united in

[1] From a Memorandum of Lord President Forbes, written perhaps in 1746.

some degree by the singularity of dress and language, stick close to their antient idle way of life; retain their barbarous customs and maxims; depend generally on their Chiefs, as their sovereign Lords and masters; and being accustomed to the use of Arms, and inured to hard living, are dangerous to the public peace; and must continue to be so, untill, being deprived of Arms for some years, they forget the use of them. From Perth to Inverness, which is above 100 measured miles, and from thence to the Western Sea, including the Western Islands, there is no Town or Village, of any consequence, that could be the Seat of any Court of Justice the least considerable, except Dunkeld, which is within 10 computed miles of Perth; neither is there any sort of Inn or Accommodation for travellers, excepting a few that have been built on the King's Roads made by Marshall Wade. Of this large tract of land, no part is in any degree cultivated, except some spots here and there in Straths or Glens, by the sides of Rivers, brooks, or lakes, and on the Sea Coast and Western Islands. The Grounds that are cultivated yield small quantities of mean Corns, not sufficient to feed the Inhabitants, who depend for their nourishment on milk, butter, cheese, etc., the product of their Cattle. Their constant residence during the harvest, winter, and spring, is at their small farms, in houses made of turf; the roof, which is thatched, supported by timber. In the summer season, they drive their

flocks and herds many miles higher amongst the mountains, where they have large ranges of coarse pasture. The whole family follow the Cattle; the men to guard them, and to prevent their straying; the women to milk them, and to look after the butter and cheese, etc. The places in which they reside when thus employed they call shoelings, and their habitations are the most miserable huts that ever were seen.

A Highland Clan is a set of men all bearing the same sirname, and believing themselves to be related the one to the other, and to be descended from the same common Stock. In each Clan, there are several subaltern tribes, who own their dependance on their own immediate Chief; but all agree in owing allegiance to the Supreme Chief of the Clan or Kindred, and look upon it to be their duty to support him at all adventures. . . .

As those Clans or Kindreds live by themselves, and possess different Straths, Glens, or districts, without any considerable mixture of Strangers, it has been for a great many years impracticable (and hardly thought safe to try it) to give the Law its course amongst the mountains. It required no small degree of Courage, and a greater degree of power than men are generally possessed of, to arrest an offender or a debtor in the midst of his Clan. And for this reason it was, that the Crown, in former times, was obliged to put Sheriffships, and other Jurisdictions, in the hands of powerful families in the High-

lands, who by their respective Clans and followings could give execution to the Laws within their several territories, and frequently did so at the expence of considerable bloodshed.

Allardyce, *Historical Papers*, i. 167.[1]

I now proceed to Narrate the Highland followings and dependances, beginning in the South at Argyll-Shire.

CAMPBELLS.—The Duke of Argyll is their Chieften, and . . . can raise out of his own property, Small Vassals, and Kinsmen Lands, 3000 Men, The Earl of Broadalbine more than 1000, and the many Great Barrons, Such as Auchinbreck, Arkindloss, Lochnell, etc., etc., at least Another 1000. So that that Clan Could bring to the field above 5000 Men, besides a Vast many Barrons and Gentlemen, not only out of Argyll, but out of Dumbarton, Streoling [Stirling], and Perth Shires, and are at present the Richest and Most Numerous Clan in Scotland. . . .

MACKLEANS. — Sir Hector Macklean is their Chieften, and . . . [his] was a verry potent Clan About 200 years Agone, and Could have raised above 800 men, but now that the familie of Argyll are possessed of their Chieften's Estate, they will hardly make 500, and even Many of these brought out of the Duke's Lands.

[1] From a 'Memoriall anent the true state of the Highlands,' ascribed to Lord President Forbes.

MACKLACHLEN.—The Laird of Macklachlen is the Chief [and] can raise 200 Men.

STEWART OF ASSIN [APPIN?].—The Laird of Assin is the Chief; he holds his Lands of the Crown, and can raise 300 Men.

MCDOUGALS OF LORN.—Their Chieften [is] the Laird of Mackdougall, and . . . was a more potent familie of old, but now much Diminished by the Campbells, and Can (I believe) Still bring out 200 Men.

Proceeding Northward by the Coast and Isles.

MACKDONALD OF SLATE.—Sir Alexander Mackdonald is their Chief. . . . He has a very considerable Estate, which holds all of the Crown, and lyes in the Isles of Sky and Uist, and can bring out 700 Men.

MACKDONALD OF CLANRONALD.—The Chieften is Called . . . in English, Captain of Clanronald; he has a Very handsome estate; holds most of it of the Crown, which lyes in Moidart and Arisack [Arisaig] on the Continent, and in the Isles of Uist, Benbecula, Can[n]a, Rum, etc. He brings out 700 Men.

MACKDONALD OF GLENGARY.—The Laird of Glengary is their Chief, who . . . has a pretty good estate, all holden of the Crown, which lyes in the Countreys of Glengary and Knoidart, both on the Continent, and Can bring out 500 Men.

MACKDONALD OF KEPOCH.—Kepoch is their Chieften . . . [but] is not so much as a Propriatar

of one furr of Land, but only Tacksmen and tennants . . . in the most part of their possessions to the Laird of Mackintosh, and the remaining part to the Duke of Gordon, All lying in Lochaber. He can raise and bring out 150 men.

MACKDONALD OF GLENCO.—The Laird of Glenco is their Chief . . . but a very small propriatar. He holds his lands of Stewart of Apin, and Can raise 150 Men. . . .

CAMERONS.—A very potent Clan in Lochaber. The Laird of Lochiel is their Chief, who . . . has a good Competent estate, but none of it holden of the Crown. The most of it is of the Duke of Argyll, and the remainder of the Duke of Gordon. He can bring out 800 Men. . . .

MACKLEODS.—Were Two distinct and both very potent families of Old, Viz. Mackleod of Lew[i]s and Mackleod of Harris; both thought to be of Danish Extraction, But the former is Utterly Extinct, and their Lands purchased and possessed by the Mackenzies. The now only Laird of Mackleod is their Chieften, and . . . has a very Considerable Fortune all holden of the Crown, lying in Glenelg on the Continent, and in the Isles of Sky and Harris, etc., etc. He can raise and bring out 700 Men.

MACKINNONS.—The Laird of Mackinnon is their Chief, who . . . holds his Lands of the Crown both in the Isles of Sky and Mull, and Can raise 200 Men.

I pass now again to the South to give Account of the Inland Chieftens, beginning again at Argyle Shire, and from thence proceeding Northward.

There are Severalls of Qualitie . . . who have the Command of Severall Highlanders in the Countreys of Argyll, Monteith, Dumbarton, Streoling, and Perth Shires . . . whom I freely pass over, Since for Some Considerable time they have given No Disturbance by Armaments or Convocations.

DUKE OF PERTH.—Is no Claned familie, although the head of a Considerable Number of Barrons and Gentlemen of the Name of Drummond in the Low Countreys. He is brought in here Allennarly Upon account of his command of about 300 Highlanders in Glenertonie and Neighbourhood.

ROBERTSONS.—The Laird of Strowan [Struan] is their Chief. . . . His Lands holds of the Crown and lye in Roinach [Rannoch] and Brae of Atholl. He can raise on his own Estate about 200 Men. There are near 500 More Robertsons in Atholl who Seldom or Never follow their Said Chief, being a part of the following of the Duke of Atholl after Named.

MENZIESE'S.—Sir Robert Menzies of Weem is the Chieften, and . . . has a very handsome Estate all holden of the Crown, Lying in Apenedull and Roinach, and can raise 300 Men.

STEWART OF CAIRNTULLIE.—Is no Chieften, but has an handsome Estate in Strathbran and Strathtey, all holden of the Crown, out of which he can raise 200 Men.

Clan Gregore.—Are a people very Remarkable for wicked Achievements. . . . So that they are at present Disguised Under the Severall Names of Campbells, Graham, Murray, and Drummond, etc., and Dispersed thorrow Dumbarton, Streoling, and Perthshires. They . . . can raise among them 500 Men, and Are rarely Absent from any Great Convocation, whatever the Quarrell may be, Since plunder and Booty is their Bussiness.

Duke of Atholl.—He is no Claned familie . . . but is deservedly placed here upon the Account of his extensive following of About 3000 Highlanders, a Good Many of them out of his own property, but most of them Upon the Account of Vast Superiorities in Glenamond, Glenlyon, Balquhidder, Strathtay, Atholl, Bishopruk of Dunkeld, Strathardel, and Glenshee.

Crossing the Grampians we come to Marr.

Farquharsons.—The only Claned familie in Marr, or Aberdeenshire, Are the Farquharsons. . . . They Can bring out 500 Men. The Laird of Invercald is their Chief. . . .

Duke of Gordon.—Is no Claned familie, Although a Chieften of a Very Considerable and powerfull Name in the Low countries. . . . His extensive Superioriries and Jurisdictions in the Highlands, Viz. in Badenoch and Lochaber, does not yield him Any followers. . . .

Grants.—A Considerable Name and familie in Strathspey. The Laird of Grant is their Chief. . . .

He can raise out of Strathspey 700 Men, and out of Urquhart 150. . . .

McIntoshes.—This was one of the most potent Clans in Scotland . . . but the Cammerons having purchased most of Said estate has much Diminished their power. The Laird of Mackintosh is their Chief . . . [and] he can bring out 800 Men, Including the Small Neighbouring familis of Mackgillivray, Mackqueen, Mackbain, etc., etc., who all own themselves his Kinsmen. His Countreys are Brae Lochabar, Badenoch, Strathern, and Strathnern. . . .

McPhersons.—Their Chief is the Laird of Clunie. He can bring out 300 Men. His whole Lands, and all his Kinsmens lands, are holden of the Duke of Gordon and lye in Badenoch.

Frazers.—Are a Considerable Clan in the Countreys of Aird and Stratharrigg. Their Chieften is Lord Lovat . . . [who] has a very Considerable estate all holden of the Crown, and Can raise 700 Men. He has a good Number of Barrons of his Name, All in Inverness Shire.

Glenmoriston Grant.—Is no Chieften, neither does he ever follow any. He brings out 100 Men. His lands are holden of the Crown, and does frequently in Armaments Join with McDonald of Glengary.

Chisolms.—Their Chieften is Chisholm of Straglass . . . [who] holds his Land of the Crown and Can bring out 200 Men.

McKenzies.—One of the Most Considerable Clans Under one head (next to the Campbells) in the Nation. The Earl of Seaforth was, and Now Lord Fortrose is their Chief. . . . He out of his Countreys of Kintaile, Lochelsh [Loch Alsh], Lochbroon [Loch Broom], and Lochcaron [Loch Carron] on the Continent, and in the Isles of Lew[i]s, etc., Can raise 1000 Men, which is all he can Command. The Earl of Cromartie, with 8 or 9 Barrons of the Name and an Number of Smaller Gentlemen, can amongst them raise 1000 More, but are not Much Inclined to follow their Chief. Neither are they in Use or Very Apt to Armaments in that Countrey of Ross, etc., [and] of late they are much come in to Independancy.

Monroes.—Sir Hary Monroe of Foules is their Chief. His lands are holden of the Crown, and Can raise 300 Men.

Rosses.—Lord Ross is their Chief. His Lands hold of the Crown, and Can raise 300 Men.

Sutherlands.—The Earl of Sutherland is their Chief. Can raise 700 Men.

Mackays.—The Lord Rae is their Chief. His Estate lyes in Strathnaver, and he can raise 500 Men.

Sinklairs.—The Earl of Cait[h]ness is their chief and Could raise 500 Men, but his Estate being Mostly gone, both it and the followings are now in the hands of Sincklairs of Dunbeth and Ulpster, etc. . . .

Ye have Now all the power of the Armed High-

landers att one View, which ye may perceive to be above 20 Thousand, A Sufficient force to have Conquered All the rest of the Scottish Nation, if they had a mind, and Could but have agreed how to Divide the Booty, and Consequently a force that was Capable, when United, to Disturb the peace of the whole United Island at their pleasure, and Might at last, with but a small Conjunction of foreigners, have endangered the totall overthrow of our Happy Constitution.

This Was the State of the Nation as to our Scots Highlanders before the Rebellion.[1]

Johnstone, *Memoirs*, 85.

All kinds of fire-arms are directly at variance with the natural disposition of the Highlanders, who are quick, ardent, and impetuous in their attack. The sword is the weapon which suits them best. When they are kept passive they lose their ardour. . . . Their manner of fighting is adapted for brave, but undisciplined men. They advance with rapidity, discharge their pieces when within musket-length of the enemy, and then, throwing them down, draw their swords, and holding a dirk in their left hand with their target, they dart with fury on the enemy, through the smoke of their fire. When within reach of the enemy's bayonets, bending their left knee,

[1] *Cf.* accounts of the Clans in Murray of Broughton, *Memorials*, 439; Lang, *The Highlands in* 1750; Hewins, *Whitefoord Papers*, 57; Burt, *Letters*, App.; Patten, *History*, 231; Ewald, *Prince Charles*, 73.

they, by their attitude, cover their bodies with their targets, that receive the thrusts of the bayonets, which they contrive to parry, while at the same time they raise their sword-arm and strike their adversary. Having once got within the bayonets, and into the ranks of the enemy, the soldiers have no longer any means of defending themselves, the fate of the battle is decided in an instant, and the carnage follows; the Highlanders bringing down two men at a time, one with their dirk in the left hand, and another with the sword.

The reason assigned by the Highlanders for their custom of throwing their muskets on the ground is not without its force. They say, they embarrass them in their operations, even when slung behind them, and, on gaining a battle, they can pick them up again along with the arms of their enemies; but, if they should be beaten, they have no occasion for muskets. They proved that bravery may supply the place of discipline at times, as discipline supplies the place of bravery. Their attack is so terrible, that the best troops in Europe would with difficulty sustain the first shock of it; and if the swords of the Highlanders once come in contact with them, their defeat is inevitable.[1]

Home, *History*, 12.

Troublesome neighbours, no doubt, [the Highlanders] were . . . but not at all formidable enemies to the government of Scotland, as long as England

[1] *Cf.* an army order in Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*, chap. lxxxi.

and Scotland were separate kingdoms, and under different sovereigns; for . . . the Lowlanders . . . accustomed to contend with the English, and armed and appointed like the warriors against whom they fought, were . . . superior to the Highlanders. . . . But when James the Sixth succeeded to the crown of England [1603] . . . the English and the Scots (that is, the Lowlanders of Scotland) at once laid down their arms.[1] . . . The untasted pleasures of peace were delicious to both nations. . . . The militia was totally neglected. . . .

Meanwhile the Highlanders continued to be the same sort of people that they had been in former times: Clanship flourished, depredation and petty war never ceased: then it was that the Highlanders became superior to the Lowlanders in arms.

The alteration of circumstances, which produced so great a change, does not seem to have been much attended to, nor its effects foreseen, but by the Marquis of Montrose, who . . . made his way through the Low Country of Scotland to the Highlands, where he erected the king's standard [1644]. . . .

The victories of Montrose raised the reputation of the Highlanders, and fixed them in the interest of the family of Stuart, to which they were naturally well inclined; for, ignorant and careless of the disputes, civil and religious, which occasioned the war, Charles the First appeared to them in the light of an injured chief.

[1] *Cf.* Terry, *Life and Campaigns of Alexander Leslie*, 42.

At the restoration [1660], the Highlanders, who had given such proofs of their loyalty to Charles the First, were in great favour with his sons Charles and James the Second, who looked upon them as the firmest friends of monarchy, and confided in them so much, that . . . Highlanders were . . . employed as a body of troops to enforce the laws against the Covenanters.

Soon after the Revolution [1689], the Highlanders took arms against the government of King William. They were commanded by the Viscount Dundee; and, at the battle of Killiecrankie, defeated the King's army, which was greatly superior to them in number. . . .

From the year 1689, the Highlanders kept a constant correspondence with James the Second as long as he lived, entreating him to procure from the king of France a body of troops to invade Britain; and engaging to support the invasion by an insurrection.

After the death of James [1701], they continued their correspondence with his son[1] at St. Germain's, at Avignon, at Rome, or wherever he was. . . .

At the accession of the family of Hanover [1714], the Highlanders took arms against the parliamentary

[1] James Francis Stuart, Chevalier de St. George, b. 1688; d. 1766; m. 1719, Maria Clementina Sobieski; had issue, Charles Edward, b. 1720, d. 1788, and Henry Benedict, Cardinal York, b. 1725, d. 1807.

settlement of the crown, though no French troops came to their assistance.

Louis the Fourteenth was dead [1715] before the Earl of Mar erected his standard in the Highlands; and the Duke of Orleans, regent of France, never intended to do any thing in favour of the Pretender's cause.

Notwithstanding . . . the Earl of Mar was joined by so many fighting men, that the army he commanded at the battle of Sheriffmuir [1715] was greatly superior to the royal army; but the . . . battle of Sheriffmuir was a drawn battle, for the number of the slain was nearly equal on both sides; and both generals claimed the victory.

This rebellion . . . was very soon followed by another, which was part of a plan to restore the family of Stuart, formed by Cardinal Alberoni, minister of Spain. In the year 1719, the king of Spain . . . equipped a fleet. . . . While this armament (destined to invade England under the command of the Duke of Ormond) was preparing at Cadiz, the Marquis of Tullibardin,[1] the Earls of Seaforth and Mareschal . . . landed in the island of Lewes . . . corresponding with the disaffected chiefs in the Highlands, and engaging them to take arms when the Duke of Ormond with his troops should land in England. But the Duke of Ormond never did land in England. . . . Meanwhile, the Marquis of Tullibardin . . . left the Island of Lewes with the

[1] The Jacobite Duke of Atholl of the '45.

300 Spaniards, and came over to the main land of Scotland; but . . . General Wightman (commander in chief for Scotland) . . . coming up with the enemy at Glenshiel (between Fort Augustus and Bernera) he attacked them immediately. The engagement, if it may be called so, was a very short one. The Highlanders, favoured by the ground, withdrew to the Hills, without having suffered much. The Spaniards laid down their arms, and were made prisoners.

Such had been the state of the Highlands, and the attachment of the greater and more warlike part of the Highlanders to the family of Stuart, from the reign of Charles the First, to that of George the Second.

CHAPTER II

THE RAISING OF THE STANDARD

The hopes of the Jacobites, which had been encouraged in 1715, and again in 1719, had been damped by the consistent and judicious peace policy which Walpole had pursued. The renewal of war with France in 1741 again offered them an opportunity. They appealed to Cardinal Fleury for French support, and in 1743 an expedition was equipped. In January 1744, Prince Charles left Rome to assume the command of it. The expedition sailed from Dunkirk, but was forced to return in a shattered condition. Though France showed little intention to renew the enterprise, Charles continued to cherish and to express confident hopes of her further co-operation. Without such assistance the Jacobites were resolved not to move, and in July 1744, John Murray of Broughton, who, since 1740, had conducted their negotiations, visited Charles in Paris on their behalf.

Murray of Broughton, *Memorials*, 426.[1]

[Murray of Broughton] saith that . . . after the Disappointment of the Invasion in 1743-4, they received no Letters from France for a considerable time, which made them uneasy.

[1] From Murray's statement, August 13, 1746, made while a prisoner in the Tower.

That Lord Traquair, in June 1744 . . . proposed to him to go again to France to see how things went there, which he was unwilling to do, but at last agreed to go; that a few days before [Murray] set out for France a long Letter came from [Lord] Sempil, accounting for and excusing the miscarriage of the Invasion, and desiring that new assurances might be sent to France from the Pretender's Friends in England and Scotland. That on the 7th of July, 1744, [Murray] set out for London . . . and proceeded to Paris. . . .

That [Murray], upon his arrival at Paris, went to [Æneas] M^c^donald's, a Banker, where the Pretender then was; that the next day [he] was introduced to the Pretender by Sempil and [William] Drummond [of Balhaldy], and told him the occasion of his being sent to France. That the Pretender assured him that the French had been serious in the Invasion, which had been disappointed by the Weather and other accidents; that he, the Pretender, had the strongest assurances from the French King and his Ministers that it would be put into execution that Harvest.

That [Murray] having desired to see the Pretender alone . . . [he] then represented to him that his Friends in Scotland were dissatisfied with the Letters sent from Drummond and Sempil, and doubted whether the French were in earnest to support him. To which the Pretender answered that he was well assured of their good Intentions. . . .

[Murray] saith that when he saw the Pretender at Paris, he told [Murray] he was determined to come over into this Kingdom if he brought only a single Footman . . . and asked [him] how many men . . . might join him. To which [Murray] said that at the most he thought there would not be above 4 or 5000, even if all those who were looked upon to be the most attached to his Family should appear for him. That [Murray] communicated this Conversation to Lord Traquair, and afterwards to Cameron of Lochiel and Lord Perth; that Lochiel thought it was a rash and desperate undertaking; that Lord Perth thought otherwise.

Ten months passed, and the hope of French support became fainter and yet fainter. Tired of inactivity, and convinced that a successful effort on his own part would enlist Louis's co-operation, Charles at length fulfilled his threat to raise Scotland 'if he brought only a single Footman' with him. In June 1745 he was staying at the Château de Navarre, the seat of his friend the Duc de Bouillon. Thence he wrote to Murray of Broughton, 'that he was determined to come to Scotland, and desired his Friends might be informed of it.'[1] On June 1,[2] he informed Louis of his determination, and suggested that France by aiding him had the opportunity of driving home her recent success at Fontenoy.[3] On the same day the Prince wrote to his father the Chevalier de St. George, and to his father's Secretary James Edgar, representing to the one, with ingenuous inaccuracy, that he had been

[1] *Memorials*, 429.

[2] In the new or Continental reckoning, which was eleven days in advance of the old or English style, the date was June 12. The old style is used throughout these pages.

[3] Murray of Broughton, *Memorials*, 507.

'invited by our friends' to visit Scotland, and detailing to the other the preparations he had made for his hazardous adventure.

Mahon, *The Forty-Five*, 144.
Navarre, June 1 [O.S.], 1745.

Sir,—I believe your Majesty little expected a courier at this time, and much less from me; to tell you a thing that will be a great surprise to you. I have been, above six months ago, invited by our friends to go to Scotland, and to carry what money and arms I could conveniently get; this being, they are fully persuaded, the only way of restoring you to the Crown, and them to their liberties. . . . Your Majesty cannot disapprove a son's following the example of his father. You yourself did the like in the year '15; but the circumstances now are indeed very different, by being much more encouraging, there being a certainty of succeeding with the least help; the particulars of which would be too long to explain, and even impossible to convince you of by writing, which has been the reason that I have presumed to take upon me the managing all this, without even letting you suspect there was any such thing a brewing, for fear of my not being able to explain . . . and had I failed to convince you, I was then afraid you might have thought what I had a mind to do to be rash; and so have absolutely forbid my proceedings. . . . I write this from Navarre, but it wont be sent off till I am on shipboard. . . .—Your Majesty's dutiful son,

Charles P.

To Mr. James Edgar. *Ibid.* 148.

I have . . . bought fifteen hundred fusees [muskets], eighteen hundred broad-swords mounted, a good quantity of powder, ball, flints, dirks, brandy, etc., and some hundred more of fusees and broad-swords, of which I cannot at present tell the exact number. I have also got twenty small field-pieces, two of which a mule may carry; and my *cassette* will be near four thousand louis d'ors: all these things will go in the frigate which carries myself. . . . It will appear strange to you how I should get these things without the knowledge of the French Court. I employed one Rutledge [of Dunkirk] and one Walsh [or Welch, of Nantes], who are subjects. The first got a grant of a man-of-war [the 'Elizabeth'] to cruise on the coast of Scotland, and is, luckily, obliged to go as far north as I do, so that she will escort me without appearing to do it. Walsh understands his business perfectly well, and is an excellent seaman. He has offered to go with me himself, the vessel [the 'Doutelle'] being his own that I go on board of. . . . He lives at Nantes; and I expect a courier every moment from him with an account that all is ready; and then I must lose no time to get there, and go directly on board. . . .

JUNE 22—JULY 23, 1745.

On June 22, the Prince embarked on the 'Doutelle' at Nantes, and proceeded to Belle Isle, where he was joined on July 4 by the 'Elizabeth.' On July 5 he set sail with seven companions.

The Lyon in Mourning, i. 201.

The seven were the Duke of Athol, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Sir John MacDonald, Colonel Strickland, Captain O'Sullivan, Mr. George Kelly (a nonjurant clergyman), and Æneas MacDonald, banker at Paris, brother to Kinlochmoidart. . . .

To cover the design the better, Sir Thomas Sheridan passed for the father, and the Prince for the son, for none knew the Prince to be in company but the seven, some few others, and Mr. Welch (an Irishman, a very rich merchant in Nantes), who was to command the frigate ['Doutelle'] of sixteen guns, on board of which the Prince and the few faithful friends with the servants were to imbark. . . .

They had not been above five or six days at sea, till one evening the *Lyon* ship of war appeared, and came pretty near them, and then disappeared. Next morning she came again in view and disappeared. She continued to do so three or four times, and the last time of her appearing she came within a mile or so of them; when the captain [d'Eau] of the *Elizabeth* (a Frenchman) came on board the frigate, and told Mr. Welch, if he would assist him by keeping one side of the *Lyon* in play at a distance, he would immediately put all things in order for the attack. Mr. Welch, well knowing the trust he had on board, answered him civilly, and told him it was what he could not think of doing, and withal remarked to

him, it was his humble opinion that he should not think of fighting unless he should happen to be attacked. . . .

The French captain to all this replied, that from the *Lyon's* appearing and disappearing so often, it seemed as if she were looking out for another ship to assist her . . . and therefore he behoved to think it the wisest course to fight the *Lyon* when single. . . . Upon this the French captain drew his sword, took leave of Mr. Welch and his company, went on board the *Elizabeth* with his sword still drawn in his hand, and gave the necessary orders for the attack.

Immediately the *Elizabeth* bore down upon the *Lyon* (each of them consisting of about sixty guns, and therefore equally matched), and began the attack with great briskness. The fight continued for five or six hours, when the *Lyon* was obliged to sheer off like a tub upon the water. . . .

During the time of the fight, the Prince several times observed to Mr. Welch what a small assistance would serve to give the *Elizabeth* the possession of the *Lyon*, and importuned him to engage in the quarrel. But Mr. Welch positively refused, and at last behoved to desire the Prince not to insist any more, otherwise he would order him down to the cabin.

After the fight was over, Mr. Welch sailed round the *Elizabeth*, and . . . desired to tell the captain it was his opinion that he should without loss of time return to France, and that he himself would do his best to make out the intended voyage. The

Elizabeth accordingly returned to France, and the frigate continued her course to the coast of Scotland. She had not been long parted from the *Elizabeth* till the crew descried two ships of war at some distance, which they could not have well got off from, but that a mist luckily interveened, and brought them out of sight.

Two or three hours before landing, an eagle came hovering over the frigate. . . . Before dinner the Duke of Athol had spied the eagle [and] . . . could not help remarking it to the Prince and his small retinue, which they looked upon with pleasure. His grace, turning to the Prince, said, 'Sir, I hope this is an excellent omen, and promises good things to us. The king of birds is come to welcome your royal highness upon your arrival in Scotland.'

When they were near the shore of the Long Isle, Duncan Cameron was set out in the long boat to fetch them a proper pilot. When he landed he accidentally met with Barra's piper, who was his old acquaintance, and brought him on board. The piper piloted them safely into Erisca. . . .

When they landed in Eriska [July 23], they could not find a grain of meal or one inch of bread. But they catched some flounders, which they roasted upon the bare coals in a mean, low hut they had gone into near the shore, and Duncan Cameron stood cook. The Prince sat at the cheek of the little ingle, upon a fail sunk [a heap of peats], and

laughed heartily at Duncan's cookery, for he himself owned he played his part awkwardly enough.[1]

JULY 23—AUGUST 4.

Ibid. i. 288.

The very first night they landed [July 23][2] happened to prove violently stormy and wet, and they were obliged to lodge in one of the little country houses, wherein there were already many others that were weatherbound.

Here they were all refreshed as well as the place could afford, and they had some beds, but not sufficient for the whole company, on which account the Prince, being less fatigued than the others, insisted upon such to go to bed as most wanted it. Particularly he took care of Sir Thomas Sheridan, and went to examine his bed, and to see that the sheets were well aired. The landlord, observing him to search the bed so narrowly, and at the same time hearing him declare he would sit up all night, called out to him, and said it was so good a bed, and the sheets were so good, that a prince need not be ashamed to lie in them.

The Prince, not being accustomed to such fires in the middle of the room, and there being no other chimney than a hole in the roof, was almost choaked, and was obliged to go often to the door for fresh air. This at last made the landlord, Angus MacDonald, call out, 'What a plague is the matter with that

[1] The voyage is also described in *Ibid.* i. 284; *Hist. MSS. Comm.* Rept. xiv. Pt. ix. 130.

[2] *Cf.* Blaikie, *Itinerary*, 2.

fellow, that he can neither sit nor stand still, and neither keep within nor without doors?'

Ibid. i. 205.

Next day [July 24] the Prince sent for young Clanranald's uncle (Alexander MacDonald of Boisdale), who lived in South Uist, and discovered himself to him. This gentleman spoke in a very discouraging manner to the Prince, and advised him to return home. To which it is said the Prince replied, 'I am come home, sir, and I will entertain no notion at all of returning to that place from whence I came; for that I am persuaded my faithful Highlanders will stand by me.' Mr. MacDonald told him he was afraid he would find the contrary. The Prince condescended upon Sir Alexander MacDonald and the Laird of MacLeod as persons he might confide in. Mr. MacDonald begged leave to tell him that he had pitched upon the wrong persons . . . [for] on the contrary, they might chance to act an opposite part. And seeing the Prince had been pleased to mention Sir Alexander MacDonald's name, Boisdale desired he might run off an express to him, and let his return be the test of what he had advanced. . . .

According to this advice the Prince did send a message to Sir Alexander MacDonald, intimating his arrival, and demanding assistance.

Ibid. i. 289.

From this place [Eriska] Mr. Æneas MacDonald,

the banker, took boat [to the mainland] and went to his brother of Kinlochmoidart, being at the distance of about forty miles. Kinlochmoidart accompanied the banker back to Eriska . . . [and] was made a colonel and aid-de-camp to the Prince, and was to have been made a baronet and peer of Scotland. He was an exceeding cool-headed man, fit for either cabinet or field.

Leaving Eriska the Prince and his companions sailed across to the mainland, and on July 25 arrived at Borradale in Arisaig. Urgent messages were at once sent to summon those on whose support Charles counted—among them, Murray of Broughton, the Duke of Perth, Cameron of Lochiel, and Young Clanranald. The Prince's arrival with so insignificant an armament aroused surprise and consternation, and at the outset he received but slight encouragement from those who visited him.

The Lyon in Mourning, iii. 50.

Mr. Hugh MacDonald [of Morar] . . . happened to meet with MacDonald of Kenlochmoydart crossing the water of Lochy, who asked him, 'What news?' 'No news at all have I,' said Mr. Hugh. 'Then,' said Kenlochmoydart, 'I 'll give you news. You 'll see the Prince this night. . . .' 'What Prince do you mean?' said Mr. Hugh. 'Prince Charles,' said Kenlochmoydart. 'You are certainly joking,' said Mr. Hugh, 'I cannot believe you.' Upon this Kenlochmoydart assured him of the truth of it. 'Then,' said Mr. Hugh, 'what number of men has he brought along with him?' 'Only seven,' said Kenlochmoydart. 'What stock of money and arms has he brought

with him then?' said Mr. Hugh. 'A very small stock of either,' said Kenlochmoydart. 'What generals or officers fitt for commanding are with him?' said Mr. Hugh. 'None at all,' replied Kenlochmoydart. Mr. Hugh said he did not like the expedition at all, and was afraid of the consequences. 'I cannot help it,' said Kenlochmoydart. 'If the matter go wrong, then I'll certainly be hanged, for I am engaged already. . . .'[1] They then took leave and parted. . . .

Next day, Angus and Mr. Hugh Macdonalds went on board the vessel in Lochnannuagh when the Prince happened to be above deck, to whom Mr. Hugh made up, saluting him as an abbee,[2] welcoming him to Scotland, asking how he liked the country, etc. The Prince soon learning what Mr. Hugh was, went to the cabin. . . . Upon this Mr. Hugh paid his respects to him as to a prince, and begged he would be exceedingly cautious and keep himself very private, as the garrison at Inverlochie was not far off, and the Campbells in the neighbourhood . . . would be too ready to take him, and give him up to his enemies, etc. 'I have no fear about that at all,' said the Prince.

Lockhart Papers, ii. 479.

July [26]th ane express was dispatch'd for young Clanronald, and next day, being the [27]th, Clan-

[1] *Cf.* Mounsey, *Carlisle in* 1745, 266.
[2] Charles passed as 'M. l'Abbé.'

ronald, Alexander M^cDonald of Glenaladale, Æneas M^cDonald of Dalily, and I,[1] came to Forsy, a small village opposite to the road where the Prince's vessel lay. We called for the ships boat and were immediatly carryed on board, and our hearts were overjoyed to find ourselves so near our long wished for P—ce. We found a large tent erected with poles on the ships deck, covered and well furnished with variety of wines and spirits. As we enter'd this pavilion we were most chearfully welcom'd by the Duke of Athole, to whom some of us had been known in the year 1715. While the Duke was talking with us, Clanronald was a-missing, and had, as we understood, been called into the P—ce's cabin, nor did we look for the honour of seeing His R.H. at least for that night. After being 3 hours with the P., Clanronald returned to us, and in about half ane hour after, there entered the tent a tall youth of a most agreeable aspect, in a plain black coat, with a plain shirt, not very clean, and a cambrick stock fixed with a plain silver buckle, a fair round wig out of the buckle, a plain hatt with a canvas string haveing one end fixed to one of his coat buttons; he had black stockins and brass buckles in his shoes; at his first appearance I found my heart swell to my very throat. We were immediatly told by one Obrian [O'Brien], a churchman, that this youth was also ane English clergyman who had long

[1] A Clanranald Macdonald. I have emended his dates. They are exactly a week behind the correct ones.

been possess'd with a desire to see and converse with Highlanders.

When this youth entered, Obrian forbid any of those who were sitting to rise; he saluted none of us, and we only made a low bow at a distance. I chanced to be one of those who were standing when he came in, and he took his seat near me, but immediatly started up again and caused me sitt down by him upon a chest. I, at this time taking him to be only a passenger or some clergyman, presumed to speak to him with too much familiarity, yet still retained some suspicion he might be one of more note than he was said to be. He asked me if I was not cold in that habite (viz. the highland garb). I answered, I was so habituated to it that I should rather be so if I was to change my dress for any other. At this he laugh'd heartily, and next enquired how I lay with it at night, which I explaind to him; he said that by wraping myself so closs in my plaid I would be unprepared for any sudden defence in the case of a surprise. I answered, that in such times of danger, or during a war, we had a different method of useing the plaid, that with one spring I could start to my feet with drawn sword and cock'd pistol in my hand, without being in the least incumber'd with my bedcloaths. Severall such questions he put to me; then rising quickly from his seat he calls for a dram, when the same person whisper'd me a second time, to pledge the stranger but not to drink to him, by which seasonable hint I

was confirm'd in my suspicion who he was. Having taken a glass of wine in his hand, he drank to us all round, and soon after left us.

Home, *History*, 42.

Cameron of Locheil . . . was not a little troubled when he received a letter from Charles, acquainting him that he was come to the Highlands, and desired to see him immediately. Locheil complied. . . . He was no sooner arrived at Boradale, than Charles and he retired by themselves. . . . Locheil acknowledged the engagements of the chiefs, but observed that they were no ways binding, as he had come over without the stipulated [French] aid; and therefore as there was not the least prospect of success, he advised his Royal Highness to return to France. . . . Charles refused to follow Locheil's advice. . . . 'In a few days' (said he), 'with the few friends that I have, I will erect the royal standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain, that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors, to win it, or to perish in the attempt: Locheil, who, my father has often told me, was our firmest friend, may stay at home, and learn from the newspapers the fate of his prince.' 'No,' said Locheil, 'I'll share the fate of my prince; and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune hath given me any power.'[1] Such was the singular conversation, on the result of which depended peace or war.

[1] *Cf. Ibid.* 44; *The Lyon in Mourning*, iii. 52, 120.

For it is a point agreed among the Highlanders, that if Locheil had persisted in his refusal to take arms, the other chiefs would not have joined the standard without him, and the spark of rebellion must have instantly expired.

Lockhart Papers, ii. 481.

On [July] the [29th], Clanronald and Allan M^cDonald, younger brother to Kinlochmoydart, were sent to Sir Alexander M^cDonald of Slate and the Laird of M^cLoed [Macleod] to induce them to join His R.H. according to duty and promise; Glenalad[ale], another gentleman and I[1] being likewise sent to conveen Clanronald's men and to get some of the best of them for the P——'s guard in the mean time, and others to be employd in unloading the ship of the arms and amunition. This was our whole business till Clanronald's return from the Isle of Sky, whose errand was in vain, those gentlemen alledging, that the P. comeing without some regular troops, more arms and money, they were under no engagement to concurr in the enterprize. Donald M^cDonald of Scotos came also on board as Glengaries representative, as likewise . . . M'Donald of Keppoch, and M'Donald of Glenco, who having concerted measures with His R.H. in behalf of their king and country, repaired immediatly to their respective homes with orders to conveen all their followers. . . . These chieftains carried with

[1] *Vide* note, *supra*, p. 29.

them some arms and amunition for the use of such of their people as wanted.

To emphasise his own resolution, and to impress the waverers, Charles ordered the 'Doutelle' to return to France.[1]

Lockhart Papers, ii. 482.

Captain Walsh . . . took his leave of the P[rince] and weighed anchor on the [4th of August], which day His R.H., the Duke of Athole, Clanronald, etc., came on shore and landed at the little village of Borradel, in the country of Arisaig, belonging to Clanronald, and here H.R.H. first sett foot on Scottish ground, excepting one night that he tarried in the house of Angus M^cDonald, at a place called Eriskay in the isle of Wist [Uist]. . . . We there did our best to give him a most hearty welcome to our country, the P. and all his company with a guard of about 100 men being all entertaind in the house, etc., of Angus M^cDonald of Borradel in Arisaig, in as hospitable a manner as the place could aford. H.R.H. being seated in a proper place had a full view of all our company, the whole nighbourhood without distinction of age or sex crouding in upon us to see the P. After we had all eaten plentifully and drunk chearfully, H.R.H. drunk the grace drink in English, which most of us understood; when it came to my turn I presumed to distinguish

[1] *Vide* Charles's letters to his father and the King of France, in Mahon, *The Forty-Five*, 152; Murray of Broughton, *Memorials*, 507.

myself by saying audibly in Erse (or highland language), *Deochs laint-an Reogh*; H.R.H., understanding that I had drunk the Kings health, made me speak the words again in Erse, and said he could drink the Kings health likewise in that language, repeating my words; and the company mentioning my skill in the highland language, H.R.H. said I should be his master for that language.

Murray of Broughton, *Memorials*, 154.

Had the Chevalier seemed in the least daunted by the apparent caution of his friends, or agreed to their not raising in arms for some time, and keep'd the ship hovering of the coast for a retreat, it is more than probable that the interest L[ord] L[ovat], S^r^ A[lexander] M^c^Donald with M^c^C[leod] had with the others, together with the many dangers that would have occurred to them every day, would have oblidged him att last to return after a fruitless attempt, and if not rendered him despicable in the Eyes of foreigners, would att least have enduced them to believe that he had no freinds. . . . This slip made Locheil with M^c^Donald of Keppoch, Clanronald, Stewart of Ardsheil, with principal gentleman of Glengarys familly, to agree to have their people in arms in two weeks after, and the Rendezvous was appointed att Glenphinnen [Glenfinnan], a small place att the head of Locheil, upon he [19th] day of [August].

AUGUST 4-19.

Lockhart Papers, ii. 482.

Having staid [August 4-10] in Borradel, during which time messages were still comeing and going betwixt the P., Lochiel, Glengary, and Keppoch, etc., H.R.H. then sett out [August 11] for the town of Kinlochmoydart in Moydart, seven miles from Borradel, by the head of Lochnanuagh and Lochailort [Loch Aylort], which way Clanronalds regiment marched closs by the shoar, the P. with his artilary and bagadge going by sea, as being the shortest passage, of about four miles.

The Highlanders did not await the raising of the Standard to commence hostilities. On August 14, Captain Swetenham, of Guise's regiment, was captured by Keppoch's Clan as he was proceeding from Ruthven to Fort William. Two days later a more serious affair took place.

Home, *History*, 46.

The governor of Fort Augustus . . . sent, upon the 16th of August, two additional companies of the first [Royal Scots] regiment of foot, to reinforce the garrison of Fort William. . . . Within eight miles of Fort William stands High Bridge, built over the river Spean, a torrent . . . extremely difficult to pass but by the bridge. Captain John Scott . . . who commanded the two companies . . . was near High Bridge, when he heard a bagpipe, and saw some Highlanders on the other side of the bridge skipping and leaping about with swords and firelocks in their hands. The captain ordered his men to

halt, and sent a serjeant with his own servant, to learn who these people were. When the messengers came near the bridge, two nimble Highlanders darted out, seized them both, and carried them to the party at the bridge. Captain Scott, ignorant of the number of his enemies . . . ordered his men to face about, and march back again. The Highlanders who had taken post at the bridge were not above eleven or twelve men, assembled and commanded by Macdonald of Tierndreich [Tiendrish], who had . . . sent expresses to Lochiel and Keppoch to demand assistance. When the soldiers . . . had passed the west end of Loch Lochie, and were got a little way upon the narrow road between the lake and the mountain, the Highlanders . . . ascending the hill . . . began to fire at the soldiers. . . . The number of the Highlanders encreased every moment; for the report of the pieces was heard far and wide. . . . Captain Scott, having reached the east end of Loch Lochie, descried some Highlanders on a hill at the west end of Loch Oich, and not liking their appearance, crossed the isthmus between the lakes, intending to take possession of Invergary, a place of some strength, which belonged to Macdonald of Glengary. He had not marched far, when he saw another body of Highlanders (who were the Macdonalds of Glengary) coming down the hill to oppose him. Captain Scott formed the hollow square and marched on. The pursuers, joined by Macdonald of Keppoch, and a party of

his men, came up very fast. Keppoch advanced alone, and called out to the troops to surrender, offering them good quarter. . . . The soldiers, surrounded on every side, laid down their arms. The affair was scarcely over, when Locheil, with a body of his Camerons, arrived, took charge of the prisoners, and carried them to his house at Achnacarie. In this scuffle, one or two of the soldiers were killed, and Captain Scott himself was wounded.

The Highlanders did not lose a single man; and their success in this first essay had no small effect in raising their spirits, and encouraging them to rebel.[1]

Two days after this skirmish, Charles was joined by Murray of Broughton, whom he appointed his Secretary. On the same day, August 18, he and his escort left Kinloch-Moidart and proceeded by Loch Shiel to Glenaladale. Here Gordon of Glenbucket, and with him his prisoner Captain Swetenham, met the Prince. Thence, early on the morning of August 19, an advance was made to Glenfinnan.

Home, *History*, 49.

Glenfinn[a]n is a narrow vale, in which the river Finnin runs between high and craggy mountains, not to be surmounted but by travellers on foot. At each end of the glen is a lake about twelve miles in length; and behind the mountains on both sides of the glen are other two lakes, nearly of the same length. When Charles landed in the glen, Locheil and his Camerons were not to be seen.

[1] For this skirmish, *cf. Lockhart Papers*, ii. 483; *The Lyon in Mourning*, i. 36.

Anxious for the arrival of this great auxiliary, Charles entered one of the hovels, which still stand there, and waited for about two hours. At last Locheil with his men appeared on the top of the hill.

The Camerons advanced in two lines (each of them three men deep). Between the lines were the soldiers taken on the 16th, marching as prisoners without their arms. Charles, elated with the sight of such a clan (for the Camerons are said to have been 700 or 800 men that day, many of them without arms), proceeded immediately to erect the standard.

The Marquis of Tullibardine [Duke of Atholl] unfurled the standard; and, supported by a man on each side, held the staff till the manifest and commission of regency were read, both dated at Rome, December 1743.

In an hour or two after this solemnity, Macdonald of Keppoch arrived with about 300 men. In the evening of the same day, some gentlemen of the name of Macleod came to Glenfinnin, who disclaimed their chief, and offered themselves to return to the Isles, and raise all the men they could for the service of their Prince.

Murray of Broughton, *Memorials*, 168.

[When] the Royal Standart [was] display'd by the D. of A[tholl] the Chevalier made them a short but very Pathetick speech. Importing that it would be no purpose to declaim upon the justice of his Father's tittle to the Throne to people who, had

they not been convinced of it, would not have appeared in his behalf, but that he esteemed it as much his duty to endeavour to procure their welfare and happyness as they did to assert his right; that it was cheifly with that view that he had landed in a part of the Island where he knew he should find a number of brave gentlemen fired with the 'noble example of their predecessors, and jealous of their own and their Country's honour, to join with him in so glorious an enterprise, with whose assistance, and the protection of a just God who never fails to avenge the cause of the injured, he did not doubt of bringing the affair to a happy issue.'

After this ceremony was over, he retired to his quarters, which he had taken up in a little barn att the head of the Loch.

CHAPTER III

FROM GLENFINNAN TO HOLYROOD

Although news of the Prince's departure from Nantes had reached London in July 1745, and a reward had been offered on August 1 for his apprehension should he succeed in landing, the first definite information of his arrival was conveyed to Lord President Forbes at Edinburgh by Macleod of Macleod in a letter dated August 3.[1] Forbes at once communicated with Sir John Cope, Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, and proceeded to Inverness to organise the Clans well-affected to the Government, while Cope prepared for an immediate advance from Stirling.

AUGUST 19-29.

Home, *History*, 55.

SIR JOHN COPE, Commander in Chief [in Scotland] during these alarms, was one of those ordinary men who are fitter for any thing than the chief command in war, especially when opposed, as he was, to a new and uncommon enemy; and, like every man of that character, extremely solicitous that nothing might be laid to his charge, he resolved to propose the most vigorous measures. Accordingly, in his

[1] The letter is in *Culloden Papers*, 203.

letters to the Secretary of State (dated the 9th and 10th of August), he proposed to march his troops into the Highlands, to seek out the rebels, and try to check their progress. . . . The King's army in Scotland . . . consisted of three battalions and a half of infantry, and two regiments of cavalry, both horse and foot (one old corps excepted[1]) the youngest regiments of the British army. Besides these forces there were in Scotland nine additional companies, that had been lately raised there for the national regiments serving abroad: there were also several companies almost complete of Lord Loudon's Highland regiment, for which the levies were carrying on all over the North. Of the nine additional companies, two had fallen into the hands of the rebels [August 16], as has been mentioned; most of the other companies had been draughted, and were so weak, as not to exceed twenty-five men a company. Lord Loudon's men were scattered about in different parts of the North Country, and had not received their arms.

Sir John Cope arriving at Stirling on the 19th of August, next day began his march to the North,

[1] 'The old regiment was Guise's, No. 6, raised in the year 1673, which was dispersed among the forts and barracks in the north. The three young regiments were, Lee's, the 44th, of which five companies were in Berwick, and five in Scotland; Murray's, the 46th; and Lascelles's, the 47th; all of them raised in the year 1741. The two regiments of dragoons were Gard[i]ner's and Hamilton's, the 13th and 14th, both raised in the year 1715, but had never seen any service.'—Home's note.

and proceeded by Crieff and Tay Bridge, along the Highland road towards Fort Augustus. . . . The troops, with which the General undertook this expedition, consisted altogether of infantry, for cavalry being judged unserviceable in so rough a country, where it was not easy to subsist them, one of the regiments of dragoons [Hamilton's] was left at Leith, and the other [Gardiner's] at Stirling. With twenty-five companies of foot, whose number did not exceed 1400 men,[1] with four field-pieces (one and a half pounders), as many cohorns, with a great number of carts and horses, carrying provisions, baggage, and 300 stand of arms, the General arrived at Dalnacardoch on the 25th of August. At Dalnacardoch he was informed that the rebels intended to meet him at Corryarra[c]k, in his way to Fort Augustus. The person who brought him this intelligence was Captain Sweetnam of Guise's regiment, who . . . was taken prisoner by the rebels on the 14th, at a place called Letter Finlay . . . [and] was carried to Glenfinnin, where he saw the standard erected on the 19th; and giving his parole, was dismissed on the 21st. . . .

From Dalnacardoch Sir John Cope with his army advanced to Dalwhinnie, where he arrived on the 26th. . . .

[1] The foot included five companies of Lee's, two companies of Lord John Murray's Highlanders, and Murray's regiment. Eight companies of Lascelles's regiment joined Cope at Crieff.—*Report on General Cope's Conduct*, 16.

At Dalwhinnie, surrounded with hills, from which Corryarrak may be seen, a Council of War was called. . . . The Council . . . were unanimously of opinion that the march to Fort Augustus, by Corryarrak, was impracticable ; and . . . that it was more expedient . . . to march to Inverness. . . . Next morning [August 27], before break of day, the Highlanders began to ascend Corryarrak ; and marching to the summit of the mountain, halted there, and waited the approach of the King's army.

Sir John Cope, acquiescing in the opinion of the Council of War . . . marched his army on the 27th towards Garv[e]more ; but when the Van reached Blarigg Beg, and the Rear was at Catlaig, where the road to Inverness turns off from the military road to Fort Augustus, the troops were ordered to halt, to face about, and take the road to Inverness by Ruthven. . . .

When Sir John Cope left the direct road to Fort Augustus, he proceeded by forced marches to Inverness, where he arrived on the 29th of August.

Meanwhile, Charles and his force had set out from Glenfinnan on August 21, and proceeded to Invergarry. Here a bond was drawn up, pledging the chiefs 'not to lay down their arms nor to make their peace without the consent of the whole.'[1] At Invergarry the Prince received an insidious proposal from Lord Lovat.

Lockhart Papers, ii. 442.

That night [August 25 or 26] the P. lay at the castle

[1] Murray of Broughton, *Memorials*, 173.

of Invergarry, where Fraizer of Gortleg came to the P. to assure him of Lord Lovats services [1] . . . and recommended as the surest way to promote the [King's] intrest that he (the P.) shou'd march north and raise the Fraizers of Strathharigag [Stratherrick], and by that time he cou'd reach Inverness, Sir Alexander M^cDonald and M^cLoad wou'd have time to joine, as wou'd a great many of the M^cKinzies, some of the Grants, the Fraizers, and M^cIntoches; but the Duke of Athole insisted that it wou'd be absolutly necessary that he shou'd appear in Athole before his brother cou'd make any party in that country. Mr. Murray (the secretary) join'd with him, and added that there was no time to be lost, but to march to Edinburgh, where (as he said) there was a great many ready to joine. This last advice prevail'd, and the P. left Invergarry that afternoon.

Ibid. ii. 484.

[The Prince] marched to Obertaive in Glengarie, where Lochiel came up with us. Here Stewart of Ardshiel joined the P. with 200 of the Apin men; also did the M^cDonalds of Glengarie, being 600 good men conducted by M^cDonald of Lochgarie.

The P. being fully resolved to stop the further progress of the Governments troops, a council of war was held at Obertaive, where it was chearfully

[1] Lord Lovat's duplicity may be gauged by his letters in *Culloden Papers*, 210, 211.

resolved to take possession of the defiles of the mountain Corryarag [Corryarrack], between Glengary and Badenoch, before General Cop[e] should reach them. Accordingly His R.H. sett out August 27 at 4 morning from Oberhallader [Aberchalder] in Glengary, our [Clanranald] regiment in the van, next Glengaries, Keppochs and Ardsheals followed in order, and Lochiels in the rear.[1] We were all in good spirits and resolute to meet the enemy in the muir, judgeing they were to hold their course over the hill of Corryarag towards Fortagustus [Fort Augustus], being the more provoked that Cope was comeing in a hostile manner into our country. We had just passed the hill, when a gentleman of the name of M^c^Pharson came to give His R.H. notice that Sir John Cope had the day before alterd his rout from Corryarag, and turning northward had marched to Riven [Ruthven] in Badenoch, haveing to deceive us sent part of his baggage with 2 companys of foot and the camp colours four miles further in the road to Fortagustus, as if he was to follow them with his whole army.

Ibid. ii. 443.

[The Prince], hearing that [Sir John Cope] was passt, the 28th in the morning march'd up Corria-

[1] *Culloden Papers*, 217, contain the following note for Lord President Forbes:—'A true account of the numbers of the Highland army, Tuesday 27th August 1745—Lochiel, 700; Clanranald, having Men of his Islanders, 250; The Stewarts of Appin, commanded by Ardsheal, 220; Keappoch, 260; Glengarry's Men, including Knoidart, Glenco, and Glenmorriston, 600. [Total=]2030.'

rock and went that afternoon to Garvemore in the braes of Badenoch, where he had certaine intelligence that Sir J. Cope had taken the road for Inverness and had made such forc'd marches that it was impossible to overtake him.

From Garvemore the P[rince] sent 100 of the Camerons under the silence of the night to apprehend Cluny M^cPherson at his own house, which they did.[1]

AUGUST 30—SEPTEMBER 10.

Abandoning all thought of following Cope, Charles continued his march upon Perth. In the course of it he was joined by John Roy Stewart, a British cavalry ex-officer, whom he despatched to raise the Grants. On September 1, Lord Nairne and Mercer of Aldie joined the Prince at Blair Castle in Atholl.

The Lyon in Mourning, i. 208.

September 2d.—He left Blair and went to the house of Lude, where he was very chearful and took his share in several dances, such as minuets, Highland reels (the first reel the Prince called for was, 'This is not mine ain house,' etc.), and a Strathspey minuet.

September 3d.—He was at Dunkeld, and next day he dined at Nairn house [in Strathord], where some of the company happening to observe what a thoughtful state his father would now be in . . . and that upon this account he was much to be

[1] *Cf. Culloden Papers*, 391. An unsuccessful attempt was made at the same time to destroy the barracks at Ruthven.

pitied . . . the Prince replied that he did not half so much pity his father as his brother. 'For,' said he, 'the king has been inured to disappointments and distresses, and has learnt to bear up easily under the misfortunes of life. But poor Harry! his young and tender years make him much to be pitied, for few brothers love as we do.'

September 4th.—In the evening he made his entrance into Perth upon the horse that Major MacDonell had presented him with.[1]

At Perth upon his entry, and also at Dundee, Charles caused his father to be proclaimed James the Eighth. While he remained at Perth, September 4-10, his small force was strengthened by some Macgregors of Glencairnaig and Glengyle, and some Robertsons under Robertson of Struan. He was joined also by Lord James Drummond (the Jacobite Duke of Perth), Lord George Murray, Lord Strathallan, Lord Ogilvy, Laurence Oliphant of Gask, and the Chevalier Johnstone. O'Sullivan and Sir John Macdonald were appointed Quarter-Master-General and Instructor of Cavalry respectively, and the command of the army was vested in the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray as Lieutenant-Generals.

Johnstone, *Memoirs*, 19.

Lord George Murray . . . possessed a natural genius for military operations; and was indeed a man of surprising talents, which, had they been cultivated by the study of military tactics, would unquestionably have rendered him one of the greatest generals of the age. He was tall and

[1] It had been captured in the skirmish on August 16.

robust, and brave in the highest degree; conducting the Highlanders in the most heroic manner, and always the first to rush sword in hand into the midst of the enemy. He used to say, when we advanced to the charge, 'I do not ask you, my lads, to go before, but merely to follow me': a very energetic harangue, admirably calculated to excite the ardour of the Highlanders; but which would sometimes have had a better effect in the mouth of the Prince.[1] He slept little, was continually occupied with all manner of details, and was altogether most indefatigable, combining and directing alone all our operations: in a word, he was the only person capable of conducting our army. . . . However, with an infinity of good qualities, he was not without his defects: proud, haughty, blunt, and imperious, he wished to have the exclusive ordering of every thing; and, feeling his superiority, he would listen to no advice.

Meanwhile, Cope's abortive march to Inverness had left Edinburgh and the Lowlands open to Charles. Leaving Inverness on September 4, Cope hastened his army towards Aberdeen, and despatched an order for transports to meet him there. By their means he still hoped to reach the Forth in time to defend the capital.

Murray of Broughton, *Memorials*, 189.

The Chevalier having certain intelligence that Cap[t] Rogers had been sent south by G[ll] C[ope] to

[1] The Chevalier is throughout prejudiced against Charles.

provide ships att Leith to transport him to the firth of Forth, and that these transports were actually providing for him, called a Councill of War to consult of what was proper to be done upon that occasion. He urged . . . that in case the Enemy gott south, it was not impossible but they might be joind by some of the troops ordered from Flanders[1] before he could bring them to an action . . . and that upon this account it seemd necessary for him to have matters ordered so as to be able to give them a meetting immediatly upon their landing, before they could be reinforced. The uncertainty of the place where they might debark appeared to some of the Council a difficulty not easily to be surmounted. . . . To prevent this difficulty, and to procure the immediate rising of their freinds in the north, it was proposed to march north from Perth, and attack S^r J[ohn] on his road to Aberdeen. Tho the Chevalier seemd of opinion that he might by forced marches gett to Aberdeen before him, and that his army would be augmented on his march, yett he was too quick sighted not to discover the ruin he might bring upon his affairs by that step; for so soon as the Enemy discovered his intentions, they had only to post themselves on the side of the River Spey att Gordon Castle till they had drawn him within a day's march, and if they than did not care to risque a battle, they had it in their power to retire again under the cannon of Inverness, whille

[1] They did not arrive until October.

the two Regements of Dragoons then att Stirling would have marchd to harrase his rear, so that he must thereby have very much fatigued his troops, and losed a great deal of time, w^t^out any probability of success. Having thus . . . demonstrated the advantages of marching south to waite for the Enemy there, and of what consequence it would be to render himself Master of the Capital before it was possible for the Enemy to come to its relief, [he] therefor gave orders for the march of the army to Dumblain [Dunblane] against Thursday the 11th of Sept^r^.[1]

SEPTEMBER 11-17.

Lockhart Papers, ii. 486.

On the [12th] we marched from Dumblane through Down, and crossed the water of Teath [Teith] at the bridge there. The P. stoped at a gentlemans house near Down, of the name of E[dmonsto]n[e], and drunk a glass of wine on horseback, where the ladys, etc., of the country were assembled to see him. We passed the river Forth that day [September 13] at the ford of Frew, about 6 miles above Stirling, expecting to have been opposed there by Colonell Gardners dragoons, who encamped in the park of Stirling, and who we heard had threatned to cut us to pieces if we attempted to cross the water. The dragoons, however, upon our approach

[1] Cluny Macpherson here consented to join the Prince, and left Perth to raise his Clan.—Murray of Broughton, 191.

galloped away in a great hurry and lay that night at Falkirk.

The P. in crossing Forth may be said to have passed the Rubicon; he had now no rough ground for a retreat in case of any disaster, and being entered into the low country must fairly meet his fate. He and his little army halted, soon after passing Forth, and dined at the house of Leckie, belonging to a gentleman of the name of [George] Moir, who had the night before been seized in his bed by a party of dragoons and carried prisoner to Stirling Castle, upon intelligence that he was preparing to receive and intertain the P. and his followers, which indeed we were in a most hospitable manner, as well as many other of our freinds who followed soon after. This night we lay at Touch.

Murray of Broughton, *Memorials*, 191.

From Touch [we] marched by the Town of St. Ninians, and as [we] passed, some few shott was fired from Stirling Castle, but tho the balls fell very nigh [the Prince], they hurt nobody. The army made a halt of some hours near to Bannockburn, and had provisions brought them from Stirling and the Places about, whille the Chevalier dined att S^r^ H[ugh] P[aterson's], and gott intelligence that the dragoons had retired to Linlithgow, and were encampd betwixt the Town and the Bridge, about half a mille to the westward. So soon as the Army had refreshed themselves he continued his march,

and encamped about a mille and a half east of Falkirk upon the high road to Edn^r, and took up his quarters att the [Earl of Kilmarnock's] House of Kallender. The Earl of Kilmarnock, haveing dined that day in the Enemy's Camp . . . and all the Country about agreeing that [the dragoons] were still there, the Chevalier determined to attack them before day, and with that view, provided himself with guides, and ordered a detachment of five hundred men to be ready on a minutes warning. Having supped, he retired as if going to bed, to prevent any intelligence being given of his designe, and went privately to the camp, where he put himself at the head of the detachment,[1] and marched with a view to pass the river of [Avon] att a foord half a mille above the bridge and attack the dragoons in flank; but before he had marched above half way, he gott intelligence of the Enemys having retired towards Ed^r and encamped att Kirkliston Water upon the accounts of his aproach, so that he took possession of the Town of Linlithgow about six in the morning y^e 15th, where the rest of the army joined him about noon. It happening to be of a Sunday, the Chevalier . . . encampd his army to the eastward of The Town, and discharged any of the men from entering save a very small guard he keept with himself in the Palace, ordered the bells to be rung, the church doors to be open'd, and gave orders to assure

[1] *Cf. Jacobite Memoirs*, 35; Maxwell of Kirkconnell, *Narrative*, 33.

the magestrates in his name that they should not be disturbed in their worship; notwithstanding of which, the Minister either left the Town, or declined preaching, to enduce the ignorant vulgar to believe that if he had, he would have been insulted and persecuted. In the Evening [the Prince] encamped about three milles from the Town, and sleepd himself in a small farm house in the rear of his army, having ordered the whole to be under arms next morning by five a clock.

How soon all was ready in the morning [September 16], the Chevalier drew up his army six in front . . . and advanced in the greatest order, not a man offering to quite his Ranks, being ready to receive the Dragoons in case they should venture to attack them. He continued his march in this manner till he came to Todshall [Foxhall], a gentleman's (Mr. Horn) seat upon Newliston River, where he made a halt for two hours and sent out parties to reconnoitre the Enemy, who retired to the Colt Bridge,[1] about a mille from Edin^r. About two in the afternoon he advanced to Corsterphan [Corstorphine], three milles from the Capital, where were numbers of people mett him from thence, chiefly from curiosity, and then filled of to the right and encamped at Gray's Milles, 2 milles distant from the Citty to the south west, having sent a summons to the Provost and Majestrates [in the

[1] Thence—in the 'canter of Colt-Brig'—they fled again, and joined Cope upon his landing at Dunbar.

following terms], requiring them to open their gates and receive him into the Town :—

The Lyon in Mourning, i. 249.

'Being now in a condition to make our way into this capital of his Majesty's ancient kingdom of Scotland, we hereby summon you to receive us, as you are in duty bound to do. And in order to it, we hereby require you upon receipt of this to summon the Town Council and take proper measures in it for securing the peace and quiet of the city, which we are very desirous to protect. But if you suffer any of the Usurper's troops to enter the town, or any of the canon, arms, or amunition now in it, whether belonging to the publick or to private persons, to be carried off, we shall take it as a breach of your duty and a heinous offence against the king and us, and shall resent it accordingly. We promise to preserve all the rights and liberties of the city, and the particular property of every one of his Majesty's subjects. But if any opposition be made to us we cannot answer for the consequences, being firmly resolved at any rate to enter the city, and in that case, if any of the inhabitants are found in arms against us, they must not expect to be treated as prisoners of war.

'(Signed) CHARLES, PRINCE REGENT.

'*From our Camp, 16th September* 1745.'

Home, *History*, 65.

Edinburgh had never been fortified; the castle, and a wall of unequal height, from ten or twelve to eighteen or twenty feet high, shut in the city on three sides, and excluded the smugglers. On the north side there was no wall: the lake called the North Loch came up to the foot of the rock on which the castle stands, and was the only defence on that side of the city. The town wall in some places

was strengthened with bastions and provided with embrazures, but there were no cannon mounted upon it; and for a considerable part of the circuit, it was no better than a garden wall, or park wall of unusual height. In several places it had been built upon, so that dwelling houses made part of the wall, and some of these houses were commanded by higher houses, opposite to them, and without the city: of such houses there was one continued row from the Cowgate port to the Nether Bow port. Such was the condition of the walls of the city of Edinburgh; and the condition of the men who might be called upon to defend them was pretty similar to that of the walls.[1]

Murray of Broughton, *Memorials*, 193.

[The Prince's] summons being read, it was agreed upon by the Provost and Majestrates to depute some of their number to the Chevalier to know what terms were required of them, and to gain a little time to see how matters would turn out. Accordingly Baily Hamilton, etc., came to Bells milns about [eight o'clock] att night. After notice had been given of their arrival, and that they were brought into the Chevalier's quarters, he ordered Mr. M[urray] to go to them and know their errand. They told him that they was deputed by the Majestracy and Town

[1] A body of volunteers was enrolled in Edinburgh, but disbanded upon Charles's approach. The Castle was held by a garrison under General Guest.

Council to the Prince to know what was expected from them; to which he answered, that his Master required no further than that they should open their gates to his army and delivre up the arms of the Town and garrison, with the ammunition and Military Stores than in the Town, in which case the liberties of the Citty should be preserved, and all necessary protection given them. They answered, that in regard to the arms of the militia they could not take upon them to be responsible, as they were not in their power, having received them from the Castle, but upon the whole desired time to return and consult with their breth[re]n. After Mr. M[urray] had made his report to the Chevalier, he aggreed that they should have two or three hours to bring back an answer, but [would] grant them no further respite.

Home, *History*, 93.

Soon after the deputies were sent out [from Edinburgh], intelligence came . . . that the transports with General Cope's army were off Dunbar. . . .

This piece of intelligence changed the face of affairs. . . . Various proposals were then made in the Council, to beat to arms, to ring the alarm-bell, and re-assemble the volunteers. To these proposals it was objected, that most of the volunteers had left the town when they laid down their arms; that . . . the deputies were now in the power of the rebels, who, when they heard the alarm-bell, would probably hang the deputies.

About ten o'clock at night, the deputies returned, and brought a letter in answer to the message sent by them :—

'His Royal Highness the Prince Regent thinks his Manifesto, and the King his father's declaration already published, a sufficient capitulation for all His Majesty's subjects to accept of with joy. His present demands are, to be received into the city as the son and representative of the King his father, and obeyed as such when there. His Royal Highness supposes, that since the receipt of his letter to the Provost, no arms or ammunition have been suffered to be carried off or concealed, and will expect a particular account of all things of that nature. Lastly, he expects a positive answer, before two o'clock in the morning, otherwise he will think himself obliged to take measures conform.

'At Gray's Mill, 16th September, 1745. By his Highness's command.

'(Signed) J. MURRAY.'

. . . After long deliberation it was determined to send out deputies once more, to beg a suspension of hostilities till nine o'clock in the morning. . . . The deputies were also instructed to require an explanation of what was meant by receiving Charles as Prince Regent.

About two o'clock in the morning [September 17] the deputies set out in a hackney coach for Gray's Mill; when they arrived there they prevailed upon Lord George Murray to second their application for a delay; but Charles refused to grant it; and the deputies were ordered in his name to get them gone.

The coach brought them back to Edinburgh, set

them down in the High-Street, and then drove towards the Cannongate.

Murray of Broughton, *Memorials*, 194.

[Meanwhile] the deputies had no sooner [obtained] liberty to return, than the Chevalier, sensible that they meditated to gain time and tire him out by a trifling treaty . . . proposed to send a Detachment to render themselves Masters of [Edinburgh] by force, in case y^e^ deputies did not return at the time appointed with a resolution to surrender. With this view he ordered Locheil to putt his people under arms . . . and ordered Mr. M[urray] to be their guide . . . giving strickt orders to behave with all moderation to the Inhabitants, and that the sogers should not be allowed to taste spirits, and to pay for w^t^ever they got, promising them two shillings each so soon as they rendered themselves Masters of the place. The detachment had immediately orders to march, and was commanded by Lochiel and Col. O'Sulivan, taking the road by Merkistown [Merchiston] and Hopes Park, where they passed without being observed by the garrison in the Castle, tho so near as to hear them distinctly call their rounds, and arrived at the nether bow Port without meeting any body on their way, and found the wall of the Town which flanks the Pleasants and St. Mary's wind mounted with cannon, but no person appeared. Locheil ordered one of his people in a great coat and hunting cape to go and demand entrance att the

gate, whille he was ready to have followed him in case he had obtained admittance, but the fellow being refused access, and it now being clear daylight, Mr. M. proposed to retire to a place call'd St. Leonards hills, and after securing themselves from the cannon of the Castle, to waite for orders from the Chevalier where to attack the town. . . . This retreat being thus agreed to, Mr. M. went to the rear of the detachment to make them march and guide them to the place proposed, but before he had time to get so far, the Coach which had returned with the deputies came down the High Street, and oblidged the Guard to open the Port, upon which Locheil took the advantage and rushed in, the guard immediately dispersing. Thus did the Chevalier render himself master of the Capital without shedding a drop of Blood.

Lockhart Papers, ii. 488.

Our people, with drawn sword and target, with a hideous yell and their particular manner of making ane attack (they not knowing what resistance they might meet with in the town), marched quickly up street, no one leaving their rank or order, and forced their way into the city guard-house, and took possession. The main body drew up in the Parliament closs, and guards were immediatly placed at every gate of the city; and the inhabitants cannot in justice but acknowledge that the behaviour of our Highlanders was civil and innocent beyond what even their best freinds could have expected.

Home, *History*, 99.

About ten o'clock [that day, September 17] the main body of the rebels, marching by Duddingston (to avoid being fired on by the Castle), entered the King's Park, and halted in the hollow between the hills, under the peak called Arthur's Seat. By and by Charles came down to the Duke's Walk, accompanied by the Highland Chiefs, and other commanders of his army.

The Park was full of people (amongst whom was the Author of this history), all of them impatient to see this extraordinary person. The figure and presence of Charles Stuart were not ill suited to his lofty pretensions. He was in the prime of youth, tall and handsome, of a fair complexion; he had a light-coloured periwig with his own hair combed over the front; he wore the Highland dress, that is, a tartan short coat without the plaid, a blue bonnet on his head, and on his breast the star of the order of St. Andrew. Charles stood some time in the park to shew himself to the people; and then, though he was very near the palace, mounted his horse, either to render himself more conspicuous, or because he rode well, and looked graceful on horseback. . . .

When Charles came to the palace he dismounted, and walked along the piazza, towards the apartment of the Duke of Hamilton. When he was near the door, which stood open to receive him, a gentleman stepped out of the crowd, drew his sword, and raising

his arm aloft, walked up stairs before Charles. The person who enlisted himself in this manner was James Hepburn of Keith. . . . He had been engaged when a very young man in the rebellion of the year 1715, and . . . condemned the Union between England and Scotland, as injurious, and humiliating to his Country; saying (to use his own words), that the Union had made a Scotch gentleman of small fortune nobody, and that he would die a thousand times rather than submit to it. . . .

The Highlanders, when they entered the town in the morning, had secured the Heralds and Pursuivants: at mid-day they surrounded the Cross with a body of armed men, and obliged the Heralds to proclaim King James, to read the Commission of Regency, and the Declaration, dated at Rome in December 1743, with a Manifesto in the name of Charles, Prince Regent, dated at Paris, 16th of May 1745. An immense multitude witnessed this ceremony, which was performed at noon.

The populace . . . huzzaed; and a number of ladies in the windows strained their voices with acclamation, and their arms with waving white handkerchiefs in honour of the day.

These demonstrations of joy, amongst people of condition, were chiefly confined to one sex; few gentlemen were to be seen on the streets, or in the windows; and even amongst the inferior people, many shewed their dislike by a stubborn silence.

SEPTEMBER 18-22.

A month had passed since Charles raised his standard in the wilds of Glenfinnan. He was now in possession of the capital of his ancestors' 'ancient kingdom.' Lord Elcho joined him. Maclachlan brought some of his Clan, and with them came some Atholl men and Grants of Glenmoriston. But the battle which Cope had failed to bring on in August was now imminent. His force had sailed from Aberdeen on September 15. On the 17th he disembarked at Dunbar, and was joined by Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons. On the 21st Charles engaged and routed him at Prestonpans.[1]

Home, *History*, 105.

On the 19th of September, Sir John Cope with his army left Dunbar, and marched towards Edinburgh. This little army made a great show—the cavalry, the infantry, the cannon, with a long train of baggage carts, extended for several miles along the road. . . .

That day the army encamped in a field to the west of the town of Haddington. . . . Next day [September 20] the army moved again, directing their movement towards Edinburgh by the post road, till they came near Huntington; and turning off there, took the low road by St. Germains and Seaton. . . .

The Van of the army was entering the plain between Seaton and Preston, when Lord Loudon, who had been sent on to reconnoitre the ground, came back at a good pace, and informed the General

[1] Gladsmuir, whose name the Jacobites gave to the battle, lies some distance inland from the actual site.

that the rebels were in full march towards the King's army. . . .

Sir John Cope . . . thought that the plain between Seaton and Preston, which he saw before him, was a very proper piece of ground to receive them, and continued his march along the high road to Preston, till he came to the place since well known by the name of the field of battle, and there he formed his army, fronting the west, from which the enemy was expected.[1] In a very short time after Sir John Cope had taken his ground, the Highland army came in sight. . . .

As the Highlanders in marching from Duddingston had made a circuit, they did not come from that quarter whence they were expected; and Sir John Cope, as soon as he saw them appear on his left, put his troops in motion, and changing the front of his army from west to south, faced the enemy. On his right was the village of Preston; and still nearer his right, the East Wall of Mr. Erskine of Grange's Park. . . . On his left was the village of Seaton; in his rear, the village of Cockenzie and the sea; in his front, the rebels and the town of Tranent. Between the two armies was a morass;

[1] Cope was marching due west in his advance from Dunbar upon Edinburgh; his right flank on the sea-coast, his left inland. The appearance of the Prince's army upon his left (*i.e.* south) flank compelled him to re-form facing south. Sweeping round, the Highlanders again threatened a flank attack upon the left (*i.e.* east) of his second position. A third time he formed, faced east, and fought the battle with Edinburgh in his rear.

the ground on each side of it was soft, boggy, and full of springs that formed a run of water, which went down in a ditch to Seaton, where it ended in a mill-dam.

Murray of Broughton, *Memorials*, 198.

On Thursday the 19th, in the evening, the Chevalier had certain intelligence that G[ll] Cope had marched that morning from Dunbar, and was to encamp that night att Haddingtown, upon which he immediately gave orders for the gaurds of the Citty to retire early next morning, and he went himself that night to Duddingston. . . .

In obedience to the orders given, on the morning of the twentieth the gaurds retired from the Citty and joined the Army att Duddingston, and brought alongst with them some Surgeons, with whom the Army was then very ill provided, and some Coaches and Chaises were likewise ordered for the Conveniency of the wounded, so certain was the prospect of a battle, and even a succesfull one. Thus all things being prepared, about nine in the morning . . . the Chevalier putt himself att the head of his small army, drawing his sword, said with a very determined Countenance, 'Gentlemen, I have flung away the Scabbard, with Gods assistance I dont doubt of making you a free and happy people, M[r] Cope shall not escape us as he did in the Highlands,' and then began his march, ordering the few horse he than had, not above fifty in number, to advance att some small

distance in front, and to detach a few to discover the Enemys march. In this manner, with the Camerons in front, he marchd in good order, crossing Musselburogh bridge by Pinkey park wall.

Jacobite Memoirs, 36.[1]

I had the van, and when we were upon the south side of Pinkey gardens, we had certain information Sir John Cope was at or near Preston, and that, in all appearance, he would endeavour to gain the high ground of Fawside. There was no time to deliberate, or wait for orders; I was very well acquainted with the grounds, and as I was confident that nothing could be done to purpose except the Highlanders got above the enemy, I struck off to the right hand through the fields, without holding any road. . . . In less than half an hour, by marching quick, I got to the eminence. . . . We then marched in order, advancing towards Tranent, and all the way in sight of the enemy. They were drawn up in the plain betwixt Preston Grange and Tranent; but there were meadows, and deep broad ditches, betwixt us and them. Mr. O'Sullivan then came up, and, after taking a look of the enemy, he took fifty of Lochiel's people who had the van, and placed them in a churchyard at the foot of the town of Tranent, for what reason I could not understand. I sent Colonel Ker [of Graden] into the meadows to observe well the grounds. . . . In the mean time, the

[1] From Lord George Murray's Journal.

enemy brought some of their cannon to bear upon the men that were placed at the foot of Tranent. They . . . soon wounded a man or two. One of Lochiel's officers came to him and told him they were much exposed, and did not see what good they could possibly do in that place. Lochiel went himself and viewed it, and brought me word that nothing could dishearten men more than to be placed in an open exposed part, when they could not advance. Mr. O'Sullivan was then gone to the rear, so, as I was sure the only way to come at the enemy was upon the other side of Tranent, I desired Lochiel to march those men through the village, and I should march the line and join them. Of this I sent word to his Royal Highness; and, it being evening, and no time to be lost, I marched accordingly. When I was in the middle of the village, and joined by those fifty men, Mr. O'Sullivan came up and asked what I was doing. I told him . . . that as there were exceeding good fields on the east side for the men to lie well and safe all that night, I should satisfy his Royal Highness how easy it would be to attack the enemy by the east side. I took the ground I designed; and when all were past the village except the Atholl brigade, who were to continue on the west side above Colonel Gardner's enclosures, his Royal Highness came up to the front of the line. The men lay all down in rank and file. The place was perfectly dry, with stubble, and a small rising in their front, just enough to cover them.

It was now night, and when all the principal officers were called together, I proposed the attacking the enemy at break of day. . . . I told them I knew the ground myself. . . . There was, indeed, a small defile at the east end of the ditches,[1] but once that was past, there would be no stop, and though we should be long on our march, yet when the whole line was past the defile, they had nothing to do but face to the left, and in a moment the whole was formed, and then to attack. The Prince was highly pleased with the proposal, as indeed the whole officers were; so, after placing a few piquets, every body lay down at their posts, and supped upon what they had with them. At midnight the principal officers were called again, and all was ordered as was at first proposed. Word was sent to the Atholl brigade to come off their post at two in the morning [September 21], and not to make the least noise. Before four the army began to march, and the Atholl men came up in good time, who were to be the second line, or corps de reserve; those of the first line who had the van and the right the day before were now, according to what was agreed formerly upon, to have the rear and the left; so the line marched from the left, and passed close in the front of what had been the right; this was done without the least noise or confusion. The Duke of

[1] This was pointed out to Murray by Robert Anderson of Whitburgh, East Lothian, who had been 'out' in the '15. *Cf. Waverley* (ed. 1830), vol. ii. chap. viii. Note 1.

Perth went in the front, and I gave him my guides. The Atholl men marched at the same time, in a different line, a little behind the first. . . . When we were past about a hundred paces from the ditches, I immediately concluded, if we went farther, we should leave the enemy upon our left flank. I therefore called to face about, and the word went from the left to the right. We immediately marched on to the attack; and I desired Lochiel to call to his men, in going on, to incline to the left; and I believe, by the time we came up to the enemy, the Camerons had gained half the ground we had left betwixt us and the main ditch.

Lockhart Papers, ii. 490.

Our right wing was led on by the Duke of Perth as Leutenant General, and consisted of the regiments of Clanronald, Keppoch, Glengarie, and Glenco, under their severall cheifs; the left by Lord George Murray, consisting of the batalions of Camerons commanded by Lochiel, the Stewarts by Ardshiel, their cheiftain Appin not being with us in this affair; one body of the M^c^Gregors with Glencairney [Glencairnaig], and the rest of the M^c^Gregors with the Duke of Perths men under Major James Drummond.[1]

Home, *History*, 113.

[Meanwhile] Sir John Cope, to secure his army

[1] Son of Rob Roy. His character and later career are sketched in Stevenson's *Catriona*. *Cf.* Murray Rose, *Historical Notes*, 161; Lang, *Pickle the Spy*, 230.

during the night [of the 20th], [had] advanced piquets and out-guards of horse and foot along the side of the morass, very near as far east as the village of Seaton. He ordered fires to be kindled in the front of his army, and sent down the baggage and the military chest to Cockenzie, guarded by forty men from one of the regiments of the line, and all the Highlanders of his army, who were two companies of new raised men, belonging to Lord Loudon's regiments, and the two additional companies of Lord John Murray's regiment, that had marched with Sir John Cope from Stirling to Inverness, and by desertion were reduced to 15 men a company.

The line of battle, formed along the side of the morass, consisted of five companies of Lee's regiment on the right, of Murray's regiment on the left, of eight companies of Lascelles's and two of Guise's regiment in the centre. On the right of the line of foot were two squadrons of Colonel Gardner's regiment of dragoons; and on the left, two squadrons of General Hamilton's, having the third squadron of each regiment placed in the rear of the other two squadrons without any infantry. The cannon were placed on the left of the army (near the waggon road from Tranent to Cockenzie), guarded by a company of Lee's regiment, commanded by Captain Cochrane, under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Whiteford. . . .

[But] Sir John Cope, informed by the dragoons,

who had seen the Highlanders, that they were coming from the east, immediately . . . changed the front of his army from south to east. The disposition was the same, and each regiment in its former place in the line; but the out-guards of the foot, not having time to find out the regiments to which they belonged, placed themselves on the right of Lee's five companies, and did not leave sufficient room for the two squadrons of dragoons to form; so that the squadron which Colonel Gardner commanded was drawn up behind the other squadron commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney. The artillery with its guard, which had been on the left and very near the line, was now on the right, a little farther from the line, and in the front of Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney's squadron.

The ground between the two armies was an extensive corn field, plain and level, without a bush or tree. Harvest was just got in, and the ground was covered with a thick stubble, which rustled under the feet of the Highlanders as they ran on, speaking and muttering in a manner that expressed and heightened their fierceness and rage. When they set out the mist was very thick; but before they had got halfway, the sun rose, dispelled the mist, and showed the armies to each other. As the left wing of the rebel army had moved before the right, their line was somewhat oblique, and the Camerons . . . came up directly opposite to the cannon, firing at the guard as they advanced.

The people employed to work the cannon, who were not gunners or artillery men,[1] fled instantly. Colonel Whiteford fired five of the six field pieces with his own hand, which killed one private man, and wounded an officer in Locheil's regiment. The line seemed to shake, but the men kept going on at a great pace; Colonel Whitney was ordered to advance with his squadron and attack the rebels before they came up to the cannon: the dragoons moved on and were very near the cannon, when they received some fire which killed several men and wounded Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney. The squadron immediately wheeled about, rode over the artillery guard, and fled. The men of the artillery guard, who had given one fire, and that a very indifferent one, dispersed. The Highlanders going on without stopping to make prisoners, Colonel Gardner was ordered to advance with his squadron, and attack them disordered, as they seemed to be, with running over the cannon and artillery guard. The Colonel advanced at the head of his men, encouraging them to charge; the dragoons followed him a little way; but as soon as the fire of the Highlanders reached them, they reeled, fell into confusion, and went off as the other squadron had done[2] When the dragoons on the

[1] They were four old soldiers and some sailors from the man-of-war which had escorted Cope's transports from Aberdeen.

[2] Gardiner fell shortly after. Doddridge's account of his death is quoted in *Waverley* (ed. 1830), vol. ii. chap. viii. Note 11.

right of the King's army gave way, the Highlanders, most of whom had their pieces still loaded, advanced against the foot, firing as they went on. The soldiers, confounded and terrified to see the cannon taken, and the dragoons put to flight, gave their fire, it is said, without orders; the companies of the out-guard, being nearest the enemy, were the first that fired, and the fire went down the line as far as Murray's regiment. The Highlanders threw down their musquets, drew their swords, and ran on; the line of foot broke as the fire had been given from right to left; Hamilton's dragoons seeing what had happened on the right, and receiving some fire at a good distance from the Highlanders advancing to attack them, they immediately wheeled about and fled, leaving the flank of the foot unguarded. The regiment which was next them (Murray's) gave their fire and followed the dragoons. In a very few minutes after the first cannon was fired, the whole army, both horse and foot, were put to flight; none of the soldiers attempted to load their pieces again, and not one bayonet was stained with blood.

Jacobite Memoirs, 40.[1]

We on the left pursued to the walls and lane near Colonel Gardner's house. A lieutenant-colonel, with five other officers, and about fourteen common men of the enemy, got in over the ditch and fired at us. I got before a hundred of our men, who had

[1] From Lord George Murray's Journal.

their guns presented to fire upon them, and, at my desire, they kept up their fire, so that those officers and soldiers surrendered themselves prisoners. . . . I was told that a number of the enemy were gathering in a body near to Tranent, and I perceived a good many people on the height. I immediately marched, with Lochiel and his regiment, back to the narrow causeway that led up to Tranent; but when I was half way up, we found those who were taken for enemies were mostly servants belonging to our army, and some country people. I got intelligence, at the same time, that a number of the enemy were at Cockenny [Cockenzie]. I immediately made the rear the front of Lochiel's men, and went with Lochiel straight to Cockenny, leaving our prisoners with a guard. This place was about a mile to the right of where we first engaged. There were about three hundred of the enemy there, above the half of them being their Highlanders. As they were within walls, they thought of defending themselves; but hearing that we were masters of their cannon, and as they could expect no assistance, they surrendered at discretion. The baggage of their army was all at that place. By the list I caused take that afternoon, by their own sergeants and corporals, we had made betwixt sixteen and seventeen hundred prisoners, of which about seventy [were] officers.[1]

[1] Other narratives of the battle are in *Lockhart Papers*, ii. 448; Hewins, *Whitefoord Papers*, 89; Ray, *Compleat History*, 41; Marchant, *History*, 99; Skirving's ballad on the battle, in Scott,

After the victory, the pursuit of Cope across the Border was debated in the Prince's Council. The project was, however, abandoned owing to the weakness of the army, its defective equipment, and the difficulty of maintaining communications in its rear. On September 22 the Prince returned to Edinburgh.

Tales of a Grandfather, chap. lxxviii.; *Scots Magazine*, 1745, p. 439; Henderson, *History of the Rebellion*, 76; *Report on General Cope's Conduct*, 37, App. 27, 355; Charles's letter to his father after the battle in *The Lyon in Mourning*, i. 211; Murray of Broughton, *Memorials*, 200; Cope's letters to Tweeddale and Newcastle, dated September 21, 22, 1745, in *State Papers*, Domestic; Allardyce, *Historical Papers*, i. 279; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1745, p. 517; Oliphant, *Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, 111; Johnstone, *Memoirs*, 21; Maxwell of Kirkconnell, *Narrative*, 39.

CHAPTER IV

THE INVASION OF ENGLAND

Smollett, *History*, xi. 222.

WHILE the young Pretender endeavoured to improve the advantages he had gained, the Ministry of Great Britain took every possible measure to retard his progress. . . . Immediately after the defeat of Cope, six thousand Dutch troops arrived in England, and three battalions of guards, with seven regiments of infantry, were recalled from Flanders for the defence of the kingdom. They forthwith began their march to the North, under the command of General Wade, who received orders to assemble an army, which proceeded to Newcastle [by October 29]. The parliament meeting on the [seventeenth] day of October, his Majesty gave them to understand, that an unnatural rebellion had broke out in Scotland, towards the suppression of which he craved their advice and assistance. He found both Houses cordial in their addresses, and zealous in their attachment to his person and government. The commons forthwith suspended the Habeas Corpus

act; and several persons were apprehended on suspicion of treasonable practices. Immediately after the session was opened, the Duke of Cumberland arrived [October 19] from the Netherlands, and was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry.[1] The train bands of London were reviewed by his Majesty: the county regiments were completed: the volunteers in different parts of the kingdom employed themselves industriously in the exercise of arms; and the whole English nation seemed to rise up as one man against this formidable invader.

SEPTEMBER 22—OCTOBER 31.

While the Government was preparing more strenuous measures, Charles remained in Edinburgh, nor did he make a further advance until October 31. In the interval he was joined by Lords Ogilvy, Pitsligo, Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Nithsdale, Kenmure, and others. France at length countenanced his enterprise, and the Marquis d'Eguilles[2] was received by Charles at Holyrood with much ceremony as titular French Ambassador. Colonel James Grante with gunners and artillery arrived from France soon after. But in the Prince's Council ominous signs of cleavage were already apparent.

[1] On October 25, Sir John Ligonier's horse, Bland's dragoons, St. Clair's, Harrison's, Huske's, and Beauclerk's foot, and a troop of hussars, arrived in the Thames from Flanders.—*Scots Magazine*, 1745, p. 489.

[2] His instructions are in Pichot, *Histoire de Charles-Édouard*, App. His narrative of his embassy is in *Revue Rétrospective*, 1885-86.

Lord Elcho's Journal.[1]

The Prince formed a council which met regularly every morning in his drawing-room. The gentlemen whom he called to it were the Duke of Perth, Lord Lewis Gordon, Lord George Murray, Lord Elcho, Lord Ogilvie, Lord Pitsligo, Lord Nairne, Lochiel, Keppoch, Clanranald, Glencoe, Lochgarry, Ardshiel, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Colonel O'Sullivan, Glenbucket, and Secretary Murray.[2] The Prince, in this council, used always first to declare what he himself was for, and then he asked every body's opinion in their turn. There was one-third of the council whose principles were, that kings and princes can never either act or think wrong; so, in consequence, they always confirmed whatever the Prince said. The other two-thirds, who thought that kings and princes thought sometimes like other men, and were not altogether infallible, and that this Prince was no more so than others, and therefore begged leave to differ from him when they could give sufficient reasons for their difference of opinion. This very often was no hard matter to do; for as the Prince and his old governor, Sir Thomas Sheridan, were altogether ignorant of the ways and customs of Great Britain, and both much for the doctrine of absolute monarchy, they would very often, had they not been prevented, have fallen into blunders which

[1] Quoted in Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*, chap. lxxix.

[2] *Cf. Atholl Correspondence*, 25, for another list of the Prince's Council.

might have hurt the cause. The Prince could not bear to hear any body differ in sentiment from him, and took a dislike to every body that did; for he had a notion of commanding this army as any general does a body of mercenaries, and so let them know only what he pleased, and expected them to obey without enquiring further about the matter. This might have done better had his favourites been people of the country; but as they were Irish, and had nothing to risk, the people of fashion that had their all at stake . . . thought they had a title to know and be consulted in what was for the good of the cause in which they had so much concern; and if it had not been for their insisting strongly upon it, the Prince, when he found that his sentiments were not always approved of, would have abolished this council long ere he did.

7 Murray of Broughton, *Memorials*, 231.

[Prince Charles] called a Councill of war the night of the 30th, where were present his Grace the Duke of Athol, D. of Perth, L. George Murray, Lord Elcho, L. Pitsligo, Cameron of Locheil, M^c^donald of Kepock, M^c^donald of Clanronald, M^c^donald of Lochgaray, etc., to consult of his march Southwards. . . . The Chevalier him self was clear for marching towards Newcastle, first, because M^r^ Wade could only arrive there a day or two before him, and Consequently his troops must have been very much fatigued with their long march after a Campaigne in Flanders. Secondly,

having been unsuccessful there, together with Copes defeat then quite recent, made it reasonable to believe that they would not act with that vigour they might do if let to rest for any time; thirdly, their numbers were not so greatly superior to his own . . . 4thly, to march towards Carlile would be a means to dishearten his own Army, as it would look like shunning Wade . . . 5thly, the advantages following a victory in these parts would be innumerable; the reduction of Newcastle . . . would enable him to strecken the Citty of London and very probably create the utmost Confussion amongst the inhabitants, which might have . . . made him absolute master of all Northumberland and the County of Durham, with Cumberland to the gates of Carlile, and . . . given the fairest opportunity to all his friends to join him from Lancashire, Yorkshire, etc., and Could then have left a garrison in the place and marched forward before any Considerable force could be got together to oppose him. . . .

On the other hand, my Lord George Murray with most of the Cheifs argued, that his marching into England being Cheifly to give his friends there an opportunity to join him, they thought he ought not to risque a battle unless upon good terms. . . . That should he be defeated his affairs would be totally ruined, and a retreat very difficult should the Enemy follow the strock, having the river of Tweed to cross. . . . That the road by Ouler [Wooler] and Whiting-

ham . . . was extremely bad, and as some rains had lately faln, might be impassible with his Cannon and other Carriages . . . and therefore they was of opinion that by marching to Carlile and being there joined by his freinds from Lancashire, Northumberland, etc., as he expected, they might then Choose to march to NewCastle and give M^r Wade Battle or not as should be thought most advisable. . . .

After a very long debate on both sides, the Council was adjourned till next morning at nine aClock. . . . But when the Chevalier had retired to his own apartment he begun to reflect, that as the most if not all the Cheifs were for marching to Carlile, his forcing them the other road contrary to their inclinations might be of bad Consequences . . . as it might thereby enduce some of the Solgers to desert, thinking themselves warranted to do it as being against their Cheifs opinion. . . . Accordingly next day [October 31], how soon the Council had mett, he told them . . . that he was ready to follow their advice. . . . This condescention on his part, made in so oblidging a manner, and as if proceeding from the Superior strength of their arguments, seemd to give great contentment. . . .

He then told [the Council] that what to him appeared the most proper Step to be taken was to march at the head of the Clans to Kelsoe, which would cover his design, it being on the Road to Newcastle, and probably bring Wade to Morpeth

to meet him . . . by which means it would not be in his power, however willing, to gett to Carlile before him, and that the other Column with the Cannon and heavy baggage should march to Peebles, which . . . could not for the first day discover their intentions—so, halting one day with the Clans att Kelsoe, or even two if found necessary, would effectually disappoint M^r^ Wade, and give the 2^d^ Column time to march up the Tweed by Drumelzier to Moffat, and join him at Carlile. This proposal . . . was universally approven of by all present . . . and D. of A[tholl] Charged with the Command of the 2^d^ Column, D. of P[erth] under him; the Chevalier the first, L. G[eorge Murray] under him. The first was composed of the Camerons, M^c^donalds of Glengary, M^c^donalds of Kappoch, M^c^donalds of Clanronald, M^c^donalds of Glencoe, the Steuarts, M^c^grigors—and M^c^kinnons. The 2^d^ was composed of the Athol Brigade, D. of Perths Regiment, Glenbuckets, Roy Steuarts, Lord Ogilveys and the M^c^pharsons, Lord Elchoes and Balmerinoes [Lifeguards], the [Lord Kilmarnock's] Perthshire horse. L[ord] Pitsligoes troop with the Hussars commanded by Major Bagget marched with the first Column. The Carriages having been all previously provided with a large quantity of biscuit, and nothing further requisite to be done, it was determined to evacuate the Citty of Ed[inburgh] y^e^ [1st] of November.

Before entering England, Charles published a Proclamation, in which he declared for liberty of conscience, inveighed

against the National Debt, condemned the Act of Union, and continued :—

State Papers, Dom. October 10, 1745.[1]

That our family has suffered exile during these fifty-seven years, everybody knows. Has the nation, during that period of time, been the more happy and flourishing for it? Have you found reason to love and cherish your governors as the fathers of the people of Great Britain and Ireland? Has a family upon whom a faction unlawfully bestowed the diadem of a rightful prince retained a due sense of so great a trust and favour? Have you found more humanity and condescension in those who were not born to a crown than in my royal forefathers? Have their ears been open to the cries of the people? Have they or do they consider only the interest of these nations? Have you reaped any other benefit from them than an immense load of debts? If I am answered in the affirmative, why has their government been so often railed at in your open assemblies? Why has the nation been so long crying out in vain for redress against the abuse of parliaments, upon account of their long duration, the multitude of placemen which occasions their venality, the introduction of penal laws, and, in general, against the miserable situation of the kingdom at home and abroad? All these and many other inconveniences must now be removed, unless the people of Great Britain be already so far

[1] Quoted in Ewald, *Life of Prince Charles*, 142.

corrupted, that they will not accept of freedom when offered to them; seeing the King, on his restoration, will refuse nothing that a free parliament can ask, for the security of the religion, laws, and liberty of his people.

NOVEMBER 1-17.

As the Council had resolved on October 31, the army advanced into England in two columns. The Dukes of Perth and Atholl took the western route through Peebles, Moffat, and Lockerby. The Prince and Lord George Murray marched through Lauder, Kelso, Jedburgh, and Longtown.[1]

Home, *History*, 137.

When the rebels began their march to the southward, they were not 6000 men complete; they exceeded 5500, of whom 4 or 500 were cavalry; and of the whole number, not quite 4000 were real Highlanders, who formed the Clan regiments, and were indeed the strength of the rebel army. All the regiments of foot wore the Highland garb: they were thirteen in number,[2] many of them very small. Besides the two troops of horse-guards, there were Lord Pitsligo's and Strathallan's horse, Lord

[1] For accounts of the march, *cf.* Murray of Broughton, *Memorials*, 236; Maxwell of Kirkconnell, *Narrative*, 61; *Spalding Club Miscellany*, i. 290; *The Lyon in Mourning*, ii. 115, 192.

[2] They were Lord Nairne's, Mercer of Aldie's, Menzies of Shian's, Lord Ogilvy's, Duke of Perth's, Gordon of Glenbucket's, John Roy Stewart's, Cameron of Lochiel's, Macdonald of Clanranald's, Glengarry's, Keppoch's, Cluny's, and Stewart of Appin's. —Blaikie, *Itinerary*, 92.

Kilmarnock's horse grenadiers, and a troop of light horse or hussars to scour the country and procure intelligence. The pay of a captain in this army was half a crown a day; the pay of a lieutenant, two shillings; the pay of an ensign, one shilling and sixpence; and every private man received sixpence a day, without deduction. In the Clan regiments, every company had two captains, two lieutenants, and two ensigns. The front rank of each regiment consisted of persons who called themselves gentlemen, and were paid one shilling a day; these gentlemen were better armed than the men in the ranks behind them, and had all of them targets, which many of the others had not. . . .

The train of artillery which belonged to this army of invaders consisted of General Cope's field pieces, taken at the battle of Preston, and of some pieces of a larger caliber, brought over in the ships from France, amounting in all to 13 pieces of cannon.

On November 9 the two columns united near Carlisle and advanced upon the city.

Mounsey, *Carlisle in* 1745, 63.[1]

On Sunday the 10th, the main body of the Rebels were seen passing at a distance from [Carlisle], having crossed the river Eden below the town; we were told the Pretender himself had lodged the night before at Moor House. That day there being

[1] From the narrative of Dr. Waugh, Chancellor of the Diocese of Carlisle.

a thick fogg, we could not see them so distinctly from the batterys as we might otherwise have done; but when we saw them . . . they were fired upon from the Castle, Citadell, and every part where the guns could bear upon them. . . .

About 3 o'clock that afternoon, one Robinson, a countryman, who said he was compelled to come, brought in a letter directed to the Mayor, from the young Pretender . . . which was immediately shown to the Governor, the officers of the Militia, and Garrison, the Magistrates, etc.; who were all called together at the Bush, and without the least hesitation agreed, that no answer ought to be sent. . . . Several parties that were seen about the town were fired upon the next day, Monday the 11th, particularly a party that came to Stanwix, said to be commanded by Glenbucket. . . . On Tuesday [November 12] all was quiet, and several accounts, from spies we sent out and others, agreed that the main body of the Rebels had gone over Warwick Bridge towards Brampton. . . . But on Wednesday the 13th, several accounts were brought us, that a party about Warwick were very busy making scaling ladders. . . . About 4 or 5 o'clock this afternoon I was sent for to the King's Arms, where Col. Durand[1] was at dinner, with several of the Militia officers, when he received an answer from Marshal Wade to a letter he had sent him by an express,

[1] Carlisle was garrisoned by the Cumberland and Westmoreland Militia. Colonel Durand was in command.

to acquaint him with what we had done for our defence, and with the whole force of the rebels being then before us. . . .

Upon the reading of it [wherein Wade held out no hope of speedy relief], several of the militia officers . . . desired the Col. would open the gates and let them go out in the night, in order to save themselves and their men; which he refusing absolutely to comply with . . . they were again prevailed with to stand to their arms that night; and did their duty more regularly, making fewer alarms than any night before. . . . The Rebels, before morning, were returned, and a party of them were working at a trench for erecting a battery, behind a hedge opposite to the Cittadell. In the morning of Thursday, the 14th, Col. Durand . . . received a paper from the militia officers, [and] went immediately up to the room in the King's Arms where these officers were met; and (as it appeared from what passed after they came out of that room to all of us that were in the house) had been endeavouring to induce them not to think of giving up when there was so little appearance of danger. . . .

In this situation we had a meeting in the Town Hall, where many of the people seemed quite desperate, as thinking they were ruined and undone in case the Rebels entered. [The acting Mayor, Thomas] Pattinson came there, took the direction on himself, and . . . said the question was, *Whether*

we should open the gates to the Rebels, or not open the gates? Mr. Tullie, the Recorder, Mr. Wilson, myself, and many others, told him that was not the question; the thing we came there to consider was, what could be done in the present situation, as the Militia would do no more? . . . that all that now appeared to us rational to be done for the service of the Government was to retire into the Castle, to defend that, which we were resolved to do. . . .

We immediately removed what valuable effects we could into the Castle, which was pretty well supplied with stores of provisions. . . . Some of the principal of the Militia officers having joined us . . . and having brought in about 400 men . . . with which we were so confident that we were able to make a good defence, all agreed to Col. Durand's sending . . . to Mr. Wade with an account of our resolution, and of the steps that had been taken. . . . Some time after we were in the Castle, towards evening, the Mayor came to demand the keys of the town, as Col. D[urand] had retired into the Castle; and John Davinson, merchant, John Graham, apothecary, and Doctor Douglass, a physician, were sent out [to Charles's camp]. . . . About the time they went out, Col. Durand sent the engineer to spike the guns on the Town Walls and Cittadell. . . .

About ten o'clock the messengers who had been sent out by the Militia and the Mayor being returned, said that the flags had been sent to the

Pretender's son at Brampton, and that the answer was—*That he would grant no terms to the Towr, nor treat about it at all unless the Castle was surrendered; likewise if that was done all should have honourable terms; the inhabitants should be protected in their persons and estates, and every one be at liberty to go where they pleased.* . . . I received a message from Col. Durand to desire I would come to the Castle. I met, as I went into the guard room, most of the officers of the Militia, and several of the principal inhabitants coming out; and was told by Col. Durand that they had acquainted him what the answer was from the Rebels; and that they had begged he would take it into consideration . . . [and] that he had called a Council of War, at which I might be present; the result of which was, that the Castle was not to be held.[1]

Murray of Broughton and the Duke of Perth were appointed by Charles to negotiate the surrender of Carlisle, the terms of which allowed Colonel Durand and the garrison to depart to their homes.[2] On November 17 the Prince entered the city.

NOVEMBER 18—DECEMBER 4.

The Prince's strategy had fulfilled its purpose in regard to Wade. The Marshal had remained in Newcastle until November 16. He then advanced to Hexham, half-way towards Carlisle, but finding the roads impassable, returned to Newcastle, whence, upon the Prince advancing into Lancashire,

[1] *Cf.*, for the siege, *Scots Magazine*, 1745, p. 529; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1745, p. 609; 1746, p. 233.

[2] *Cf.* Murray of Broughton, *Memorials*, 241.

he set off in pursuit on November 24. Another force, under Sir John Ligonier, had already left London to confront the Prince should he continue his advance, and Lieut.-General Handasyde with a force of infantry and cavalry reached Edinburgh on November 14, and proceeded to Stirling.

Murray of Broughton, *Memorials*, 243.

Upon the eighteenth [of November] a Council of war was Called [at Carlisle] to determine of what was next to be done, and after some deliberation it was agreed on to march into Lancashire.[1] Tho the Chevalier in all appearance had little reason to expect any considerable assistance from his freinds there, if held in the same light with those in Northumberland, where only two gentlemen joind him, yet he was determined that they should not have it to say that it was oweing to the difficulty of passing the militia in the Country, and that their people were unwilling to rise without some troops to make a head for them, and therefore fixed his departure for the 20th. To have laid there [Carlisle] any longer would have been both idle and dangerous . . . Mr Wade [being] at Newcastle, and the 2 Regiments with the foot detached to Scottland on his left. So to prevent a junction of the D[uke of Cumberland's] and Mr Wade's armies, his only proper methode was to march forward, that in case he came to action he might only have one army to deal with, whereas had they Continued [at Carlisle] till the D. [of Cumberland']s march north, who would have been

[1] *Cf. Jacobite Memoirs*, 48.

joind by M^r^ Wade from Newcastle near to Carlile, he had only 3 things to choose upon—first, to fight with an army more than 3 times his number, give them the Slip if possible and march South, where it was most certain nobody would join him, seeing such a powerfull army in his rear, which he must one day have engaged, or lastly, to have retired to Scottland where he must have encountered [Handasyde] with Dreus and Ligonier's Regiment of foot, the Glasgow, Paisley and Lothian militia, and Hamiltons and the Late Gardners Dragoons, who were Sufficient to Stop his passage over the Firth till the D[uke] and M^r^ Wade had comed up; besides, he must have had the whole horse of these armies harassing his rear the whole way on his march from Carlile.

Johnstone, *Memoirs*, 46.

Our cavalry left Carlisle on the 20th of November, and marched that day to Penrith. . . . It consisted of two companies of life-guards, composed of young gentlemen. Lord Elcho, now Earl of Wemyss and a peer of Scotland, a nobleman equally distinguished for his illustrious birth and his singular merit, commanded the first company; and Lord Balmerino commanded the second. Besides the life-guards, there was a body of one hundred and fifty gentlemen on horseback, commanded by Lord Pitsligo. On the 21st, the Prince followed with the infantry, and passed the night at Penrith; Lord Elcho, with the cavalry which he commanded, as first captain of the

life-guards, passed the night at Shap, a village eight miles south from Penrith. The Prince, on quitting Carlisle, left a garrison of two or three hundred men in the castle.

On the 22d, the cavalry advanced to Kendal, and the infantry, with the Prince, remained at Penrith; and on the 23d the cavalry and infantry met at Kendal. On the 24th, the cavalry passed the night at Lancaster, whilst the infantry rested at Kendal; and on the 25th, the cavalry advanced to Preston, and the infantry passed the night at Lancaster.

The cavalry, having passed the bridge of Preston on the 26th, occupied a village near the suburbs, and our infantry arrived at Preston.[1] The Prince held here a council of the chiefs of clans; gave them fresh hopes of being joined by his English partisans on their arrival at Manchester; and persuaded them to continue their march. The whole army was allowed to rest itself during the 27th at Preston. On the 28th our army left Preston, and passed the night at Wigan; and on the 29th we arrived at Manchester, where we remained during the 30th. . . .

One of my serjeants, named Dickson, whom I had enlisted from among the prisoners of war at

[1] Lord George Murray at once led his troops across the Ribble, 'to convince them that the Town Should not be their *ne plus ultra*,' as it had been in the invasions of 1648 and 1715.—Murray of Broughton, *Memorials*, 245.

Gladsmuir, a young Scotsman, as brave and intrepid as a lion, and very much attached to my interest, [had] informed me, on the 27th, at Preston, that he had been beating up for recruits all day without getting one; and that he was the more chagrined at this, as the other serjeants had had better success. He therefore came to ask my permission to get a day's march a-head of the army, by setting out immediately for Manchester . . . in order to make sure of some recruits before the arrival of the army.

He had quitted Preston in the evening, with his mistress and my drummer; and having marched all night, he arrived next morning at Manchester . . . and immediately began to beat up for recruits for 'the yellow-haired laddie.' The populace, at first, did not interrupt him, conceiving our army to be near the town; but as soon as they knew that it would not arrive till the evening, they surrounded him in a tumultuous manner, with the intention of taking him prisoner, alive or dead. Dickson presented his blunderbuss, which was charged with slugs, threatening to blow out the brains of those who first dared to lay hands on himself or the two who accompanied him; and by turning round continually, facing in all directions, and behaving like a lion, he soon enlarged the circle, which a crowd of people had formed round them. Having continued for some time to manœuvre in this way, those of the inhabitants of Manchester who were attached to the house of Stuart, took arms, and

flew to the assistance of Dickson, to rescue him from the fury of the mob; so that he soon had five or six hundred men to aid him, who dispersed the crowd in a very short time. Dickson now triumphed in his turn; and putting himself at the head of his followers, he proudly paraded undisturbed the whole day with his drummer, enlisting for my company all who offered themselves. . . .

I did not derive any advantage from these recruits, to the great regret of Dickson. Mr. [Francis] Townley, formerly an officer in the service of France, who had joined us some days before, obtained the rank of colonel, with permission to raise a regiment entirely composed of English; and the Prince ordered me to deliver over to him all those whom Dickson had enlisted for me. It was called the Manchester regiment, and never exceeded three hundred men; of whom the recruits furnished by my serjeant formed more than the half. These were all the English who ever declared themselves openly in favour of the Prince; and the chiefs of the clans were not far wrong, therefore, in distrusting the pretended succours on which the Prince so implicitly relied.

At Manchester the advisability of retreating to Scotland was discussed.[1] It was determined, however, to continue the advance at least to Derby, and on December 1 the march was resumed. Meanwhile, the Duke of Cumberland had taken over Sir John Ligonier's command at Lichfield on November 27.

[1] *Vide* Maxwell of Kirkconnell, *Narrative*, 70.

Jacobite Memoirs, 53.[1]

When we came to Macclesfield [December 1], we had certain intelligence that the Duke of Cumberland's army was on its march, and were quartered at Litchfield, Coventry, Stafford, and Newcastle under Line. We resolved to march for Derby; and to cover our intentions, I offered to go with a column of the army to Congleton, which was the straight road to Litchfield, so that the enemy would have reason to think we intended to come upon them, which would make them gather in a body, and readily advance upon that road, so that we could get before them to Derby. This was agreed to. A little before I came to Congleton, the Duke of Kingston and his horse retired towards Newcastle under Line, where Mr. Weir with one or two others were taken, and some escaped out of windows. This Weir was principal spy. We heard afterwards that the body of the enemy, who were at Newcastle under Line, retreated towards Litchfield, and other bodies of them that were farthest back advanced, so as to gather their army into a body about that place, which entirely answered our design; for next morning early, I turned off to the left, and passing through Leek, got that evening to Ashburn. His Royal Highness, who had halted a day at Macclesfield, came the next [December 3] to Leek, a little after I passed through it.

[1] From Lord George Murray's Journal.

I got to Derby about mid-day on the [4]th[1] December, and his Royal Highness, with the other column, came that evening.

Scots Magazine, 1745, p. 615.[2]

On Wednesday the 4th of December, about eleven o'clock, two of the rebels vanguard entered this town [Derby], inquired for the magistrates, and demanded billets for 9000 men or more. A short while after, the vanguard rode into town, consisting of about 30 men, clothed in blue faced with red, and scarlet waistcoats with gold lace; and being likely men, made a good appearance. They were drawn up in the market-place, and sat on horseback two or three hours. At the same time the bells were rung, and several bonfires made, to prevent any resentment from them that might ensue on our shewing a dislike of their coming among us. About three after noon, Lord Elcho, with the life-guards, and many of their chiefs, arrived on horseback, to the number of about 150, most of them clothed as above. These made a fine shew, being the flower of their army. Soon after, their main body marched into town, in tolerable order, six or eight abreast, with about eight standards, most of them white flags and a red cross; their bagpipers playing as they marched along. While they were in the

[1] *Cf.* Blaikie, *Itinerary*, 30.

[2] An unexpurgated version of this letter is in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1745, p. 708.

market-place, they ordered their Prince to be publickly proclaimed before he arrived; which was accordingly done by the common cryer. They then insisted upon the magistrates appearing in their gowns; but being told they had sent them out of town, were content to have that ceremony excused. Their Prince did not arrive till the dusk of the evening. He walked on foot, attended by a great body of his men, who conducted him to his lodgings. . . . At their coming in, they were generally treated with bread, cheese, beer, and ale, whilst all hands were aloft getting their suppers ready. After supper, being weary with their long march, they went to rest, most upon straw, and others in beds.

DECEMBER 5-17.

Jacobite Memoirs, 54.[1]

Next day [December 5], when most of the officers were at the Prince's quarters [at Derby], it was considered what next was to be resolved on. We did not doubt but that the Duke of Cumberland would be that night at Stafford, which was as near to London as Derby. Mr Wade was coming up by hard marches the east road, and we knew that an army, at least equal to any of these, would be formed near London . . . so that there would be three armies, made up of regular troops, that would surround us, being above thirty thousand men, whereas we were not above five thousand fighting men, if so many.

[1] From Lord George Murray's Journal.

His Royal Highness had no regard to his own danger, but pressed with all the force of argument to go forward. He . . . was hopeful there might be a defection in the enemy's army, and that severals would declare for him. He was so very bent on putting all to the risk, that the Duke of Perth was for it, since his Royal Highness was. At last he proposed going to Wales, instead of returning to Carlisle, but every other officer declared their opinions for a retreat, which some thought would be scarce practicable. I said all that I thought of to persuade the retreat, and indeed the arguments to me seemed unanswerable; and . . . I offered to make the retreat, and be always in the rear myself, and that each regiment would take it by turns till we came to Carlisle. . . . As all the officers agreed in this opinion, his Royal Highness said he would consent to it, though it was observed he was much disappointed to be so near London, and yet not in a condition to march forwards.

Smollett, *History*, xi. 225.

Had Charles proceeded in his career with that expedition which he had hitherto used, he might have made himself master of the metropolis, where he would have been certainly joined by a considerable number of his well-wishers, who waited impatiently for his approach: yet this exploit could not have been achieved without hazarding an engagement. Orders were given for forming a camp

on Finchley-common, where the King resolved to take the field in person, accompanied by the Earl of Stair, Field-marechal and Commander in Chief of the forces in South-Britain. Some Romish Priests were apprehended: the militia of London and Middlesex were kept in readiness to march: double watches were posted at the city-gates, and signals of alarm appointed. The volunteers of the city were incorporated into a regiment: the practitioners of the law, headed by the Judges, weavers of Spital-Fields, and other communities, engaged in associations: and even the managers of the theatres offered to raise a body of their dependents for the service of the government. Notwithstanding these precautions and appearances of unanimity, the trading part of the city, and those concerned in the money corporations, were overwhelmed with fear and dejection.

That London would have fallen without a resistance equal at least to that of Carlisle is improbable. To have laid siege to the city with Cumberland's and Wade's unbeaten armies operating in the field would have been madness. Even had the Prince obtained and kept possession of it, he would inevitably in his turn have been besieged. Neither from France nor Scotland was there prospect of adequate reinforcements, and he and his army would have faced the necessity, either to surrender, or to cut their way out in a desperate rush towards Scotland. His assent to the retreat from Derby was therefore wisely, albeit reluctantly given.

Maxwell of Kirkconnell, *Narrative*, 78.

The retreat was begun on the 6th. To conceal it

from the enemy as long as possible, a party of horse was ordered to advance some miles toward them, while the army took the road to Ashborn; and to keep the army in suspense, powder and ball were distributed as before an action, and it was insinuated that Wade was at hand, and they were going to fight him; but when the soldiers found themselves on the road to Ashborn, they began to suspect the truth, and seemed extremely dejected. All had expressed the greatest ardour upon hearing at Derby that they were within a day's march of the Duke of Cumberland; they were at a loss what to think of this retreat, of which they did not know the real motives; but even such as knew them, and thought the retreat the only reasonable scheme, could hardly be reconciled to it. When it was question of putting it in practice, another artifice was thought of to amuse them. It was given out that the reinforcements expected from Scotland were on the road, and had already entered England; that Wade was endeavouring to intercept them, and the Prince was marching to their relief; that as soon as they had joined him, he would resume his march to London. This pretext was plausible. . . . The hopes of returning immediately made them somewhat easy under their present disappointment, but still all was sullen and silent that whole day.

Johnstone, *Memoirs*, 63.

On the 6th of December our army passed the

night at Ashborn; on the 7th we reached Leek; the 8th, Macclesfield; the 9th, Manchester;[1] the 10th, Wigan; and the 11th, Preston, where we remained during the 12th. We arrived at Lancaster on the 13th, where we recruited ourselves during the 14th;[2] and on the 15th we reached Kendal, where we received certain information that we had left Marshal Wade behind us, and that we were no longer in any danger of having our retreat to Scotland cut off. . . .

On the 16th, our army passed the night at Shap; but our artillery remained at the distance of a league and a half from Kendal, some ammunition waggons having broken down, so that we were obliged to pass the whole night on the high-road, exposed to a dreadful storm of wind and rain. On the 17th, the Prince, with the army, arrived at Penrith; but the artillery, with Lord George, and the regiment of the Macdonalds of Glengary, consisting of five hundred men, who remained with us to strengthen our ordinary escort, could only reach Shap, and that with great difficulty, at night-fall.[3]

So soon as it was understood that the Highlanders were retreating, the Duke of Cumberland followed in pursuit. Wade, also, was bearing down upon them. He reached Wakefield on December 10, but finding that Charles had

[1] *Cf. Gentleman's Magazine*, 1745, p. 708.

[2] *Cf.* Maxwell of Kirkconnell, *Narrative*, 82.

[3] Johnstone's dates here agree with Goodwillie's in *The Lyon in Mourning*, ii. 194. But *cf. Ibid.* ii. 123.

slipped past him, sent his cavalry under General Oglethorpe to join Cumberland at Preston on December 13, and returned to Newcastle. On the 17th the Duke's force reached Kendal, and on the following day came into touch with Murray and the Prince's rear-guard as it was approaching Clifton.

DECEMBER 18.

Johnstone, *Memoirs*, 57.

We [of the rear-guard] set out from Shap by break of day, on the 18th, to join the army, which waited for us at Penrith; but we had scarcely begun our march when we saw a great number of the enemy's light horse continually hovering about us; without venturing, however, to come within musket shot. The appearance of these light horse appeared the more extraordinary, as, hitherto, we had seen none in the whole course of our expedition in England. Having arrived, at mid-day, at the foot of an eminence [Thrimby Hill], which it was necessary to cross in our march to Penrith, about half-way between that town and Shap, the moment we began to ascend, we instantly discovered cavalry, marching two and two abreast on the top of the hill, who disappeared soon after, as if to form themselves in order of battle, behind the eminence which concealed their numbers from us, with the intention of disputing the passage. We heard at the same time a prodigious number of trumpets and kettle-drums. Mr. Brown, colonel in the train of Lally's regiment, was at the head of the column, with two of the companies which the Duke of Perth had attached to the artillery, and of which

mine was one. After them followed the guns and ammunition-waggons, and then the two other companies attached to the artillery. Lord George was in the rear of the column, with the regiment of Macdonalds.

We stopt a moment at the foot of the hill, every body believing it was the English army, from the great number of trumpets and kettle-drums. In this seemingly desperate conjuncture, we immediately adopted the opinion of Mr. Brown, and resolved to rush upon the enemy sword in hand, and open a passage to our army at Penrith, or perish in the attempt. Thus, without informing Lord George of our resolution, we darted forward with great swiftness, running up the hill as fast as our legs could carry us. Lord George, who was in the rear, seeing our manœuvre at the head of the column, and being unable to pass the waggons in the deep roads confined by hedges in which we then were, immediately ordered the Highlanders to proceed across the inclosure, and ascend the hill from another quarter. They ran so fast that they reached the summit of the hill almost as soon as those who were at the head of the column. We were agreeably surprised when we reached the top to find, instead of the English army, only three hundred light horse and chasseurs, who immediately fled in disorder. . . .

We immediately resumed our march. . . . When we had advanced about two miles . . . the Duke of Cumberland, having followed us by forced marches,

with two thousand cavalry, and as many foot soldiers mounted behind them, fell suddenly on the Macdonalds, who were in the rear of the column, with all the fury and impetuosity imaginable. Fortunately, the road running between thorn hedges and ditches, the cavalry could not act in such a manner as to surround us, nor present a larger front to us than the breadth of the road. The Highlanders received their charge with the most undaunted firmness. They repelled the assailants with their swords, and did not quit their ground till the artillery and waggons were a hundred paces from them, and continuing their rout. Then the Highlanders wheeled to the right, and ran with full speed till they joined the waggons, when they stopt again for the cavalry, and stood their charge as firm as a wall. The cavalry were repulsed in the same manner as before by their swords. We marched [to Clifton] in this manner, about a mile, the cavalry continually renewing the charge, and the Highlanders always repulsing them, repeating the same manœuvre, and behaving like lions.

Jacobite Memoirs, 65.[1]

When I came to Clifton, I sent off the cannon and other carriages to Penrith, being two miles farther; and as I believed these light horse that had met me would probably be near Lord Lonsdale's house at Lowther . . . I went a short way with the

[1] From Lord George Murray's Journal.

Glengary men to that place, through several enclosures, it being not above a mile. Lord Pitsligoe's horse had joined me. . . . We got sight of severals hard by Lord Lonsdale's house [Lowther Hall], but could come up with few: at a turn of one of the parks, one like a militia officer, clothed in green, and a footman of the Duke of Cumberland's, were taken. We understood by them, that the Duke of Cumberland, with a body of four thousand horse, as they said, were about a mile behind. I sent Colonel Roy Stewart with the prisoners to Penrith, and to know his Royal Highness's orders, and that I would stop at Clifton, which was a good post, till I heard from him. When I came back to Clifton, the Duke of Perth was there; and, besides Colonel Roy Stewart's men, being about two hundred, that I left there, Cluny, with his men, and Ardsheil, with the Appin men, were [come from Penrith] with them. The Duke of Perth . . . then saw, upon an open muir [Clifton Moor], not above cannon-shot from us, the enemy appear and draw up in two lines, in different divisions and squadrons. His Grace said he would immediately ride back [to Penrith], and see to get out the rest of our army. . . .

After an hour they [the enemy] dismounted, as near as we could guess, about five hundred of their dragoons, which came forward to the foot of the muir they were upon, and to a ditch, which was the last of three small enclosures from the places

where we were posted at the village. My men were so disposed, that the Glengary men were upon the enclosures on the right of the highway, and Appin's men, with Cluny's, in the enclosures upon the left; Colonel Roy Stewart's men I placed on the side of the lane, or highway, close to the village. I was about a thousand men in all. Pitsligoe's horse and . . . hussars, upon seeing the enemy, went off to Penrith. . . .

Colonel Roy Stewart returned to me from Penrith. He told me his Royal Highness resolved to march for Carlisle immediately . . . and desired me to retreat to Penrith. I shewed Colonel Stewart my situation, with that of the enemy. . . . I told him, I was confident I could dislodge them from where they were by a brisk attack, as they had not, by all that I could judge, dismounted above five hundred. They were, by this time, shooting popping shots among us. . . . Their great body was on horseback, and at some distance; and Cluny and he owned, that what I proposed was the only prudent and sure way; so we agreed not to mention his message from the Prince. . . . I now went over again to where the Glengary men were placed, and ordered them to advance, as they should observe me do on the other side, and to keep up their fire as much as they could, till they came to the bottom ditch; and that, if we beat the enemy from their hedges and ditches, they had a fair sight of them, and could give them a flank fire, within pistol-shot; but I gave them particular in-

junctions not to fire cross the lane, nor to follow the enemy up the muir. I left Colonel Car with them. . . . After having spoke with all the officers of the Glengary regiment, I went to the right of the lane. The dismounted dragoons had not only lined the bottom enclosures, but several of them had come up to two hedges that lay south and north; the others, where we were, and the dragoons at the bottom, lay east and west. The Appin battalion were next the lane upon that side, and Cluny's farther to their left.

The Lyon in Mourning, ii. 88.

In this posture we[1] continued for some minutes, prepared to receave the enemy, and by this time it was quite night upon us; and the Generall [Murray] finding it proper that we should break our then situation by penetrating through our hedge, and advancing therefrom to another that was situate in a hollow halfway betwixt us and the enemy, we being both on eminences, and this hollow interjected, through the hedge we made our way with the help of our durks, the prictes being very uneasy, I assure you, to our loose tail'd lads. But before we broke through, his lordship, suspecting that we might be met with in our way to the other hedge, said to our colonel: 'Cluny, if such will happen, I 'll attack on the right of your regiment, and doe you the same on the left of it, and we 'll advance soe, if you approve

[1] Captain John Macpherson is the writer.

of it.' To which Cluny readily answered, he was very well satisfied to attack when his lordship pleased. The disposition thus made, when with great rapidity we were makeing our way towards the other hedge, the advanced parties of the enemy, being dismounted dragoons, met us full in the teeth, who fired upon us; which they scarcely did, when they were answered with the little we had without ever as much as stoping to doe it, but goeing on in our rapid way; by which it soe happened they soon turned their backs to us. The General, how soon we had given our little fire, ordered us to draw our broad-swords, which was readily done, and then we indeed fell to pell-mell with them. But the poor swords suffered much, as there were noe lesse than 14 of them broke on the dragoons' skull caps (which they all had) before it seems the better way of doing their business was found out. . . . There was also a detachment of them sent from their main body in order to have flanked us on the right; but it haveing been their luck to pass by the stone dyke which the Glengarrie regiment lined, they got such a smart fire from that brave corps, that such as outlived it were fain to make the best of their way back to their army; by which means we got none of their trouble, and to which our safety was in a very great measure oweing. After we had chaced the swiftest of those with whom we had to doe in amongst the heart of their friends, we retired to our own first hedge, where we charged our pieces, meaning to maintain

that post till daylight, when we expected the whole army would have been up with us for disputing the main point. But soon we receaved orders by ane aid de camp from the army to return to Penrith to join them there, which was accordingly done.[1]

DECEMBER 19-26.

Johnstone, *Memoirs*, 70.

Our army did not withdraw from Clifton-hall till some hours after the night had set in; but our artillery was sent off in the beginning of the action, with orders to continue to advance to Carlisle, without stopping at Penrith. . . .

As we very much dreaded the junction of Marshal Wade with these four thousand men, whom the Duke of Cumberland had brought with him to Clifton-hall by forced marches, to harass us in our retreat, as well as the arrival of the rest of his army, which he had left behind him, we marched all night, and arrived at Carlisle about seven o'clock in the morning of the 19th of December.

Jacobite Memoirs, 73.[2]

When we came to Carlisle, where we halted next

[1] Other accounts of the skirmish are in *Lockhart Papers*, ii. 496; Marchant, *History*, 221; *Scots Magazine*, 1745, p. 577; Henderson, *History*, 188; Ray, *Compleat History*, 201; Thomas Savage's account, in Ferguson, *The Retreat of the Highlanders*, 219; Cluny's narrative, in *Trans. Gaelic Soc. of Inverness*, xxi. 409; Cumberland's despatches, dated December 19, 20, 1745, in *State Papers*, Domestic; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1745, p. 625; *Hist. MSS. Comm.* Rept. XIII. Pt. VI. 170; Maxwell of Kirkconnell, *Narrative*, 85.

[2] From Lord George Murray's Journal.

day [December 19], I was clear for evacuating it, but it seems another resolution was taken, and I was ordered to speak with some of the officers that were appointed to stay. The Duke of Perth was very unwilling to leave any of his men; as, indeed, it was no wonder. In the Prince's presence he asked me, why so many of the Atholl people were not desired to stay. I told him, if his Royal Highness would order me, I would stay with the Atholl brigade, though I knew my fate; for so soon as they could bring cannon from Whitehaven, I was sure it was not tenable. . . . I do not know who advised leaving a garrison at Carlisle; I had been so much fatigued for some days before, that I was little at the Prince's quarters that day, but I found he was determined in the thing. It was very late next day [December 20] before we marched . . . and when we came to the water Esk . . . no concert had been taken what rout we were next to follow. His Royal Highness . . . desired to know my opinion, which . . . was, that I should march with six battalions that night to Ecclefechan; next day for Moffat, and then halt a day; and after making a feint towards the Edinburgh road, turn off to Douglas, then to Hamilton and Glasgow; that his Royal Highness would go with the clans and most of the horse that night to Annan, next day to Dumfries, where they would rest a day, then to Drumlanrig, Lead Hills, Douglas, and Hamilton, so they would be at Glasgow the day after us. This was immediately agreed to. I

passed the water. We were a hundred men abreast, and it was a very fine show; the water was big, and took most of the men breast-high. When I was near cross the river, I believe there were two thousand men in the water at once; there was nothing seen but their heads and shoulders; but there was no danger, for we had caused try the water, and the ford was good, and Highlanders will pass a water where horses will not, which I have often seen. . . . The pipes began to play so soon as we passed, and the men all danced reels, which in a moment dried them, for they held the tails of their short coats in their hands in passing the river, so when their thighs were dry, all was right. It was near night. Those who went to Ecclefechan had a very bad march. . . . We halted a day at Moffat. It was Sunday, and having episcopal ministers along with us, we had sermon in different parts of the town, where our men all attended. Our people were very regular that way, and I remember at Derby the day we halted, many of our officers and people took the sacrament. We marched next to Douglas, then to Hamilton, and arrived at Glasgow, 25th December. His Royal Highness came there next day,[1] with the other column of the army, by the route above mentioned.[2]

[1] *Cf.* Blaikie, *Itinerary*, 34.

[2] Further details of the march from Carlisle to Glasgow are in Johnstone, *Memoirs*, 74; Maxwell of Kirkconnell, *Narrative*, 89; *Spalding Club Miscellany*, i. 311; *The Lyon in Mourning*, ii. 123, 195.

Maxwell of Kirkconnell, *Narrative*, 89.

Here [at Glasgow] the Prince resolved to give some days' rest to his army, which really stood in need of it, after such a long march performed in the severest season; though the fatigue had been sometimes excessive, few complaints were ever heard. The Prince's example contributed not a little to the alacrity and cheerfulness the common men expressed on all occasions. After a few days the Prince reviewed his army on College Green, and had the satisfaction to find he had lost very few men during this expedition. It was the first general review he had made since he left the Highlands. Hitherto he had carefully concealed his weakness; but now thinking himself sure of doubling his army in a few days, he was not unwilling to let the world see with what a handful of men he had penetrated so far into England, and retired almost without any loss. It was indeed a very extraordinary expedition, whether we consider the boldness of the undertaking, or the conduct in the execution.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Cumberland had followed in pursuit as far as Carlisle, in which the Prince had left a small garrison under Francis Townley and John Hamilton. After holding out for some days, they surrendered on December 30. The fall of the city concluded the campaign of 1745, and the Duke returned to London.

CHAPTER V

FALKIRK AND CULLODEN

NOVEMBER 1745—JANUARY 1746.

Scots Magazine, 1745, p. 588.

UPON the news of the march of the rebels into England, and some pretended successes gained by them, the Frasers, headed by Lord Lovat's son, formed a sort of blockade of Fort Augustus; whilst Lord Lewis Gordon, in Banff and Aberdeenshire, was raising men[1] and levying money, by force and threats of the most severe military execution. The money imposed on the town and shire of Aberdeen (5 l. Sterl. or an able-bodied man, with sufficient highland cloaths, plaid and arms, for every 100 l. Scots of valued rent) is computed at near 13,000 l. Sterling.[2] On the 3d of December, the Earl of Loudon, with 600 of the well-affected clans, marched, in a very severe frost, from Inverness, thro' Stratherrick, part of Lord Lovat's estate, on

[1] Among them, Moir of Stoneywood, Gordon of Avochy, and Farquharson of Monaltrie.

[2] *Cf.* Bisset's diary in *Spalding Club Miscellany*, i. 359.

the South-side of Loch-ness, to the relief of Fort Augustus. He met with no opposition, supplied the place with what was wanting, and returned to Inverness on the 8th; after letting the inhabitants of Stratherrick know what they were to expect if they joined the rebels.

This detachment, after one day's rest, was ordered to march to relieve Banff and Aberdeenshire. For this end, two companies of Mackenzies, who had been posted near Brahan, were called into Inverness on Monday the 9th. On the 10th, the Lord Loudon, with 800 men, marched out to Lord Lovat's house of Castle-Dounie, to obtain the best security he could for the peaceable behaviour of the Frasers. At the same time, the Laird of Macleod was detached with 500 men (400 whereof were of his own kindred) towards Elgin, in their way to Banff and Aberdeenshire, to prevent the rebels recruiting there; and they were to be followed by Lord Loudon, and as many men as could be spared from Inverness. Lord Loudon prevailed with Lord Lovat, upon Wednesday the 11th, to come into Inverness along with him, and to live there under his eye until he should bring in all the arms which the clan was possessed of; which he promised to do against Saturday night following, and highly condemned the behaviour of his son. Whilst Lord Loudon waited for the delivery of these arms, 200 men, under Capt. Monro of Culcairn, were detached by his Lordship to follow Macleod to Elgin and

Aberdeen. Lord Lovat, after delaying to fulfil his promise from time to time, at last found means to get out of the house where he was lodged, at a back passage, and made his escape.

In the mean time, Macleod marched forwards to Elgin; and from thence, hearing that 200 rebels had taken possession of the boats of Spey at Fochabris, and pretended to dispute the passage with him, he advanced on Sunday the 15th to the banks of that river; which the rebels on his approach quitted, leaving him a quiet passage. From thence he advanced on the 16th and 17th to Cullen and Banff, whilst Capt. Monro with his 200 men, on the 17th and 18th, advanced by Keith to Strathbogie; and the rebels, who were in possession of those places, retired towards Aberdeen. Mr. Grant of Grant joined Capt. Monro with 500 of his clan, and marched with him to Strathbogie.[1] Upon the 19th it was resolved by Macleod and Capt. Monro to march the next morning, the first from Banff to Old-Meldrum, twelve miles off Aberdeen, and the last from Strathbogie to Inverary [Inverurie], which is at the like distance.

The Lyon in Mourning, ii. 344.

Upon Friday the 20th of December 1745, the Laird of MacLeod marched from Old Meldrum to Inverurie with 500 men, [and] was joined nixt day

[1] Correspondence relating to Ludovick Grant's actions during this expedition is in Fraser, *Chiefs of Grant*, ii. 197.

by [Captain Monro of] Culkern with 200 Minroos, who were quarterd upon the farmers neerest to that village.

They continowed there in great security untill Munday [December 23], about four in the afternoon, that there centrie in the south end of the town was surprized with the white flag turning the firpark of Kethall in forward march upon the village, upon which he fir'd his pice to give the alarm, whereupon, as the townsmen say, they turn'd out in great confusion. (This firpark was within half a mile of the village.) The reason of this security of theirs might proceed from their freinds at Aberdeen making them belive they had nothing to fear from Lord Lewis [Gordon], as he was preparing to march south. But therein were they deceived.

For upon Saturday [December 21] came two companies of L[ord] J[ohn] D[rummond]'s men from Minrose,[1] with Elsick's men from the Mearns, so that he might have numbered about 900 men, part of which were left to keep guard at Aberdeen; and upon Munday about ten did he march by the bridge of Don, with Stonnywood's regiment, Minaltrie's, Elsick's men, and a few Mr. Crichton had raised, with the two companies of Drumonds. Abichie marched his men the Kintore road, and by that

[1] Lord John Drummond had arrived from France on November 22. He brought about eight hundred men, including his Royal Scots regiment, and piquets from the six Irish regiments in the French service, commanded by Brigadier Stapleton.

means had Don to cross in sight of the enimie, as Lord Lewis had Urie. About 60 of the Macleods kept firing upon them crossing Urie, wherby two men were wounded. The Macleods were drawn up upon the east side of the town, against whom was sent Colonel Culbert and Stonnywood. Minaltrie and Blelack entered the town; Abichie went up the west side to scour the yards, from which they fired and galled Lord Lewis men in their coming up from Urie to form agenst the enemie. The action lasted but a few minutes after the men were formed, and the loss inconsiderable on both sides, night coming on apace, they could not be supposed they could see to levell their pices. Upon the Macleods side was taken Gordon of Ardoch and 60 private men; on both sides 14 killed and 20 wounded.[1]

JANUARY 3-14, 1746.

Johnstone, *Memoirs*, 82.

Glasgow is the second city in Scotland,[2] from the number of its inhabitants and the extent of its commerce. [The Prince's] army was allowed to remain there, to recover from its fatigues, till the [3rd] of January, when we quitted it in two columns; one of which [Lord George Murray's] took the road to Cumbernauld, where it passed the night, whilst the

[1] Other accounts of the fight are in *Spalding Club Miscellany*, ii. 364 (*cf. Ibid.* ii. 431); Fraser, *Chiefs of Grant*, ii. 204.

[2] Provost Cochrane's account of Charles's reception in and treatment of Glasgow is in *Cochrane Correspondence*, 62.

other went to Kilsyth. By this movement the Prince, according to every appearance, seemed to entertain the intention of proceeding to Edinburgh, especially as Lord Elcho, with the cavalry, had advanced as far as the town of Falkirk. . . . But the [Prince's] column, which had passed the night at Kilsyth, quitted the Edinburgh road next morning; and falling back upon its left, the two columns met in the evening at the village of Bannockburn, about half a league from Stirling.[1]

The object of the Prince in approaching Stirling was to accelerate his junction with Lord John Drummond, whom he had ordered to repair to Alloa with the . . . artillery and stores he had brought from France. The town of Stirling, protected by the castle, in which there was a strong garrison, commanded by General Blakeney, the governor, having refused to surrender, the Prince, on the 4th of January, ordered a part of his army to occupy the villages of St. Denis and St. Ninians, which are within cannon-shot of the town, on the south. By this position it was blockaded and invested on every side; the stone bridge, to the north of the town, having been broken down when General Cope was there with his army.

On our reaching Bannockburn, Lord George Murray . . . repaired immediately to Alloa, where Lord John Drummond had already arrived, in order to take measures for the speedy advance to Stirling

[1] *Cf. Jacobite Memoirs*, 77; Maxwell of Kirkconnell, *Narrative*, 94, for details of the march.

of the troops and artillery brought by Lord John from France; and after giving the necessary directions for the conveyance of the guns, he returned next day to Bannockburn. He then put himself at the head of eleven hundred men, and stationed himself with them as a fixed post at Falkirk. . . . Lord Elcho, with the cavalry, occupied the town of Linlithgow. . . . The rest of our army was quartered in the villages of St. Dennis and St. Ninians, and at Bannockburn, two miles from Stirling, where the Prince had his headquarters.

Lord John Drummond immediately repaired to Bannockburn with his regiment of Royal Scots, and five piquets of the Irish brigade; as also with Lord Lewis Gordon, and six hundred vassals of his brother, the Duke of Gordon; Mr. Fraser, the eldest son of Lord Lovat, and six hundred of his father's vassals; the Earl of Cromarty, his eldest son Lord Macleod, and his vassals, the Mackenzies. The Prince was then joined by many other Highlanders of the clans of Mackintosh and Farquharson: so that by this reinforcement our army was suddenly increased to eight thousand men, the double of what it was when we were in England. . . .

On the 6th of January, we opened the trenches before the town of Stirling, under the direction of Mr. Grant; but the mere threat of laying siege to the town induced the magistrates to repair to Bannockburn and propose a capitulation; and the Prince having granted them the conditions which

they required, we took possession of Stirling next day. The castle was not included in the surrender. General Blakeney answered very politely to the summons of the Prince, 'That His Royal Highness must assuredly have a very bad opinion of him were he capable of surrendering the castle in such a cowardly manner.' . . .

M. Mirabelle de Gordon, a French engineer, and chevalier of the order of St. Louis, was sent into Scotland with Lord John Drummond, and arrived at Stirling on the 6th. . . . It was supposed that a French engineer, of a certain age, and decorated with an order, must necessarily be a person of experience, talents, and capacity; but it was unfortunately discovered, when too late, that his knowledge as an engineer was extremely limited, and that he was totally destitute of judgment, discernment, and common sense. His figure being as whimsical as his mind, the Highlanders, instead of M. Mirabelle, called him always Mr. Admirable.

Mr. Grant had already communicated to the Prince a plan of attack of the castle, which was to open the trenches and establish batteries in the burying-ground, on that side of the town which is opposite to the castle gate. . . . The inhabitants of Stirling having remonstrated with the Prince against this plan, as . . . the fire from the castle would, they said, reduce their town to ashes, he consulted M. Mirabelle . . . and as it is always the distinctive mark of ignorance to find nothing difficult, not even

things that are impossible, M. Mirabelle, without hesitation, immediately undertook to open the trenches on a hill to the north of the castle, where there were not fifteen inches depth of earth above the solid rock, and it became necessary to supply the want of earth with bags of wool, and sacks filled with earth brought from a distance. Thus the trenches were so bad, that we lost a great many men, sometimes twenty-five in one day. The six pieces of artillery sent from France, two of which were eighteen, two twelve, and two six pounders, arrived at Stirling on the 14th.

JANUARY 14-17.

General Hawley, who had been appointed to the command in Scotland, reached Edinburgh on January 6. On the 13th, his advance guard, under General Huske, set out from Edinburgh. The main body followed on the 15th, and Hawley, with Cobham's dragoons, brought up the rear on the 16th. Leaving a force under the Duke of Perth to continue the siege of Stirling Castle, the Prince awaited Hawley's approach at Bannockburn.

Jacobite Memoirs, 79.[1]

For three days . . . our army drew up in line of battle, to the east of Bannockburn, the third day, which was the 17th. As all the men we expected soon were come up (excepting those who were to be left at Stirling, being about twelve hundred), it was proposed to march to the enemy. We had been told they designed to have marched towards us that day,

[1] From Lord George Murray's Journal.

but they were still in their camp, on the west side of Falkirk, as they had been for two days before. The officers being called into his Royal Highness's presence, I observed how difficult it was to bring our men together from so many different cantonments . . . whereas the enemy . . . could march by break of day, and so be in the heart of our quarters before we could make head against them, there being but four miles from a great part of our cantonments and their camp. . . . I said, that by holding above the Torwood, we would gain the hill of Falkirk as soon as them, as it was a thing they did not expect. . . . This was approved of by every body, and his Royal Highness was much pleased with the design. I then asked if I should march off at the head of the two lines in the manner they were then drawn up, which the Prince agreed to, and it was done accordingly, for there was not a moment to be lost, it being then [January 17] betwixt twelve and one [mid-day]. After I had marched about half a mile, Mr. O'Sullivan came up to me, and told me he had been talking with the Prince, and that it was not thought advisable to pass a water [Carron] in sight of an enemy, and therefore it was best delaying it till night, and then we could do it unperceived. . . . I did not halt, and he went back to his Royal Highness, who . . . came up soon after, with Brigadier Stapleton, Mr. O'Sullivan, and some others. . . . I told him, so far from disputing our passing, that we were now within half a mile of the water, which then

was very small, and that the enemy were full two miles off, and could not see us till we were very near it . . . and that probably they were then all at dinner, so that we must get up to the high ground before them. His Royal Highness and the Brigadier were entirely satisfied. We had not stopped all the time, and Lord John Drummond had been sent to make a feint with the horse below the Torwood.

Culloden Papers, 270.[1]

About 10 o'Clock M^r^ Hawley went out to a little eminence on the left of the Camp [at Falkirk] to reconnoitre the Grounds between our Camp and y^e^ Torwood; where I heard some of the Officers say, they saw them [the Highlanders] moving on this Side of the Torwood Southwards. This proved true; though I saw nothing, neither did M^r^ Hawley. However, about eleven o'Clock we got the alarm, and in a very short space were all under Arms, and remain'd so a quarter of an hour. Then we found out it was a false Alarm, and we all turn'd in again, and went to look out for Dinner, which was not easy to be found; and after it was found we got no time to eat it; for a little before two the last Alarm came, when the Enemy was within a Mile and a half of us. I never was used to these things; but I was surpriz'd to see in how little time y^e^ regular troops were form'd (I think in less than half an hour) on y^e^ left

[1] The writer, William Corse, was serving in the Glasgow regiment.

of y^e^ Camp, in two Lines, with the Dragoons on y^e^ flanks; all fronting the South, and just along the side of the high road leading to Stirling; the Road in their front, and Falkirk on their left. We all thought that there we were to wait for the Enemy, who was now plainly in view, coming along the hills from the South-west. M^r^ Hawley, it seems, had another notion; for no sooner was the Army form'd, than he marched them straight up a steep Hill w^ch^ lyes to the South-west of Falkirk, in two Columns; in order, I suppose, to gain a large Moor which they say is on the top of that Hill, and w^ch^ may be so for me, and I believe for His Excellency too; for neither of us saw it, at least before the action. All the Dragoons were sent on before, and form'd upon the top of the Hill.

Lockhart Papers, ii. 500.

[The Prince], under the cover of the Tor wood, passed the water of Carron at Dunipace, moveing on very quickly to gain the hill above and lying on the south west of Falkirk. Our two columns keept at ane equall distance of about two hundred paces till we came in sight of the enemy about a mile and a half distant from us. At the same time that we began our march, Lord John Drummond with most of the horse had gone to reconoitre the enemy, and made a movement as if he intended to march the high way through the Tor wood closs up to them, and this might occasion what some accounts tell us,

of General Hawlays perceiving a body of the Highlanders in the Tor wood, took this appearance to be our whole army, and finding they did not advance, allowed his troops to dyne in their camp.

But to return to our main body; whilst we were making up towards the hill above Falkirk (as was said), the enemy at last perceived us, and immediatly their three regiments of dragoons were orderd up to gain the ground upon us and hinder our forming till their foot should form, and their cannon be brought up the hill to support them. The P. seeing the intention of the enemy, ordered 1500 or 2000 of his Highlanders, led on by Lord George Murray and Lochiel, to advance and drive the dragoons from the eminence they had possessd, till the main body of our men should come up. . . .

Our first line was composed of the Highland, and the second mostly of the Low country regiments. Keppoch had by consent the right of all, as Clanronald had at the battle of Preston pans. Next to Keppochs men, towards the left, stood Clanronalds, next in order the M^{c}Donalds of Glengarie, the Frazers, the Camerons, and the Stewarts of Appin. This right wing was commanded by Lord George Murray as Leutenant Generall. The left, consisting mostly of Low country men, was commanded by the Duke of Perth. The P[rince], with his own guards and Fits James's horse from France, posted himself immediatly behind the center of the foot, at about twenty yards distance, that he might have a

necessary and commanding view of the whole, having Lord John Drummond with the Irish pickets on his left.

Home, *History*, 169.

The infantry of the King's army was also formed in two lines, with a body of reserve. The first line consisted of a battalion of the Royal, of the regiments of Wolfe, Cholmondley, Pulteney, Price, and Ligonier. The Royal had the right of the first line, and Wolfe's regiment the left. The second line consisted of Burrel's regiment, Blakeney's, Monroe's, Battereau's, and Fleming's; Burrel's regiment had the right of this line, and Blakeney's the left. Howard's regiment formed a body of reserve. The dragoons that were advanced before the infantry, and a good way to their left, having large intervals between their squadrons, extended so far that they covered a great part of the first line of the rebel army, for the left of the dragoons was opposite to Keppoch's regiment, and their right to the centre of Lord Lovat's, which was the third regiment from the left of the rebels. Behind the greater part of this body of cavalry there was no infantry but the Glasgow regiment, which, being newly levied, was not allowed to have a place either in the first or second line, but stood by itself near some cottages behind the left of the dragoons. Most of the regiments of foot in the King's army were standing on the declivity of the hill. More than one regiment both of the first and second line stood higher up, and on ground somewhat more

plain and level. The Highlanders towards the left of their first line saw the foot of the King's army; the Highlanders on the right of the first line saw no foot at all; for besides the great inequality of the ground, the storm of wind and rain continued, and the darkness increased so much, that nobody could see very far. To conclude this account of the field of battle, there was a ravine or gully which separated the right of the King's army from the left of the rebels. This ravine began on the declivity of the hill, directly opposite to the centre of Lord Lovat's regiment, and went down due north, still deeper and wider to the plain. . . .

The infantry of the King's army not being completely formed (for several companies of Fleming's regiment were only coming up to take their place in the centre of the second line) when General Hawley sent an order to Colonel Ligonier, who commanded the cavalry, to attack the rebels: Colonel Ligonier with the three regiments of dragoons advanced against the Highlanders, who at that very instant began to move towards the dragoons. Lord George Murray was marching at the head of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, with his drawn sword in his hand, and his target on his arm. He let the dragoons come within ten or twelve paces of him, and then gave orders to fire. The Macdonalds of Keppoch began the fire, which ran down the line from them to Lord Lovat's regiment. This heavy fire repulsed the dragoons. Hamilton's and Ligonier's regiments wheeled about,

and fled directly back: Cobham's regiment wheeled to the right, and went off between the two armies, receiving a good deal of fire as they passed the left of the rebels. When the dragoons were gone, Lord George Murray ordered the Macdonalds of Keppoch to keep their ranks, and stand firm. The same order was sent to the other two Macdonald regiments, but a great part of the men in these two regiments, with all the regiments to their left (whose fire had repulsed the dragoons), immediately pursued. When they came near the foot of the King's army, some regiments of the first line gave them a fire: the rebels returned the fire, and throwing down their musquets, drew their swords and attacked the regiments in the left of the King's army, both in front and flank: all the regiments in the first line of the King's army gave way, as did most of the regiments of the second line. It seemed a total rout . . . but Burrel's regiment stood, and joined by part of two regiments of the first line (Prince's and Ligonier's) moved to their left, till they came directly opposite to the Camerons and Stuarts, and began to fire upon them across the ravine. The . . . rebels, after losing a good many men, fell back a little, still keeping the high ground on their side of the ravine. . . . Most of the men in those regiments which stood behind the Clans of the first line that attacked the foot of the King's army, seeing the wonderful success of that attack . . . [had] followed the chase; but many of the men belonging to the regiments that were

thinned in this manner, hearing the repeated fires given by the King's troops across the ravine, thought it was most likely that the Highland army would be defeated; and that the best thing they could do was to save themselves by leaving the field when they might: accordingly they did so, and went off to the westward. At this moment the field of battle presented a spectacle seldom seen in war. . . . Part of the King's army, much the greater part, was flying to the eastward, and part of the rebel army was flying to the westward. Not one regiment of the second line of the rebels remained in its place; for the Athol brigade, being left almost alone on the right, marched up to the first line, and joined Lord George Murray where he stood with the Macdonalds of Keppoch. Between this body of men on the right of the first line, and the Camerons and Stuarts on the left (who had retreated a little from the fire of the troops across the ravine), there was a considerable space altogether void and empty, those men excepted who had returned from the chase, and were straggling about in great disorder and confusion, with nothing in their hands but their swords. By and by Lord George Murray with his men joined them, and Charles with the Irish piquets, and some other troops of the reserve, came up from the rear. The presence of Charles encouraged the Highlanders: he commended their valour; made them take up the musquets which lay thick upon the ground; and ordering them to follow him, led them to the brow of the hill. At the approach

of so considerable a body of men, Cobham's regiment of dragoons, which, having always kept together, was coming up the hill again, turned back, and went down to the place where the regiments of foot were standing who had behaved so well, and retreating with them in good order, joined the rest of the army who had rallied on the ground in the front of their camp, where the Argyleshire Highlanders had been left by General Hawley, when he marched with his troops to meet the enemy. The storm of wind and rain continued as violent as ever: night was coming on, for the battle began a little before four o'clock. Before it grew dark, General Hawley gave orders to set fire to the tents, and marching his army through the town of Falkirk, retreated to Linlithgow, leaving behind him seven pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of provision, ammunition, and baggage.[1]

Lockhart Papers, ii. 502.

The enemy, finding they could neither possess nor save their camp . . . were just got to the east end of the toun of Falkirk when Lord John Drum-

[1] Other accounts of the battle are in Ray, *Compleat History*, 248; Marchant, *History*, 309; *Jacobite Memoirs*, 82; *Lockhart Papers*, ii. 469, 500; *Scots Magazine*, 1746, pp. 35, 93; Henderson, *History*, 262; Johnstone, *Memoirs*, 90; Allardyce, *Historical Papers*, i. 294; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1746, pp. 27, 61; Oliphant, *Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, 168; *Historical MSS. Comm.* Rept. x. Pt. i. 440; *Ibid.* Rept. xiv. Pt. ix. 139; Murray of Broughton, *Memorials*, 515; Ewald, *Life*, 201; Maxwell of Kirkconnell, *Narrative*, 99; Lord Macleod's account, in Fraser, *Earls of Cromartie*, ii. 391.

mond entered it on that side, Lord George Murray in the middle, and Lochiel in the west end of the toun. We took most of their cannon, ammunition, and baggage, which they had not themselves destroyed. We reckond about seven hundred of the enemy taken prisoners, and about six hundred men and between thirty or forty officers killed. We had not above forty men killed on our side, among whom were two or three captains and some subaltern officers.

His R. H.'s first care early next morning was to cause bury the dead, as well those of the enemy as our own people. Had not night come on and been very stormy, and our men engadged in pillaging the enemys camp, our army might have got betwixt them and Lithgow and would have entirely distroyed them; but they being in want of every thing, they thought fitt to retire next day to Edinburgh, near twenty miles from the field of battle. . . .

An unlucky accident happend amongst us [at Falkirk] next day; Colonell Enæas M^cDonald, second son to Glengarie, and who commanded the Glengarie men, a brave and goodnaturd youth, was unhappily shot by the accident of a Highlandmans cleaning his peice. This poor gentileman, satisfyed of the unhappy fellows innocence, beggd with his dying breath that he might not suffer; but nothing could restrain the grief and fury of his people, and good luck it was that he was a M^cDonald (tho not of his own tribe, but of Keppochs), and after all they

began to desert daily upon this accident, which had a bad effect upon others also, and lessend our numbers considerably.

JANUARY 18-30.

Jacobite Memoirs, 95.[1]

The Prince returned [January 19] to Bannockburn, and the siege of Stirling Castle was to be pushed forward with all expedition. The Duke of Perth commanded in the town, and was obliged to stay there with about twelve hundred men, at the time of the battle, to hinder the castle from sallying, and to carry on the works.

It was soon found we had no good engineers. He who was the principal, a French gentleman [M. Mirabelle de Gordon], I believe, understood it; but he was so volatile, that he could not be depended upon. All our army, except the clans, were cantoned in and about Stirling. . . . I continued at Falkirk with the clans. The Frasers, and some others who had come up before the battle, were lodged near me, on Carron Water, towards the Torwood. Many of the men went home from all the different corps, and this evil was daily increasing; so that when we understood [on January 28] that the Duke of Cumberland was ready to march from Edinburgh, and that two or three new regiments had joined their army, the principal officers at Falkirk, taking their situation into their serious

[1] From Lord George Murray's Journal.

consideration, were persuaded that we were in no condition to fight them, and that there was not the least hopes of taking Stirling Castle . . . but by starving, which would be the work of months. In less than two hours after they first talked of this matter, the officers at Falkirk drew up their opinion and signed it, and sent it to his Royal Highness.

Home, *History*, 352.

The Chiefs to Prince Charles. Falkirk, 29th January 1746.

We think it our duty, in this critical juncture, to lay our opinions in the most respectful manner before your Royal Highness.

We are certain that a vast number of the soldiers of your Royal Highness's army are gone home since the battle of Falkirk . . . and as we are afraid Stirling Castle cannot be taken so soon as was expected, if the enemy should march before it fall into your Royal Highness's hands, we can foresee nothing but utter destruction to the few that will remain, considering the inequality of our numbers to that of the enemy. For these reasons, we are humbly of opinion, that there is no way to extricate your Royal Highness, and those who remain with you, out of the most imminent danger, but by retiring immediately to the Highlands, where we can be usefully employed the remainder of the winter, by taking and mastering the forts of the North . . . and in spring, we doubt not but an army of 10,000 effective Highlanders can be brought

together, and follow your Royal Highness wherever you think proper. . . .

The hard marches which your army has undergone, the winter season, and now the inclemency of the weather, cannot fail of making this measure approved of by your Royal Highness's allies abroad, as well as your faithful adherents at home. The greatest difficulty that occurs to us is the saving of the artillery, particularly the heavy cannon; but better some of these were thrown into the River Forth as that your Royal Highness, besides the danger of your own person, should risk the flower of your army, which we apprehend must inevitably be the case if this retreat be not agreed to, and gone about without the loss of one moment. . . . Nobody is privy to this address to your Royal Highness except your subscribers; and we beg leave to assure your Royal Highness, that it is with great concern and reluctance we find ourselves obliged to declare our sentiments in so dangerous a situation, which nothing could have prevailed with us to have done, but the unhappy going off of so many men.[1]

Signed by

LORD GEORGE MURRAY.	ARDSHIEL.
LOCHEIL.	LOCHGARY.
KEPPOCH.	SCOTHOUSE.
CLANRONALD.	SIMON FRASER, Master of Lovat.

[1] *Cf. Ibid.* 356.

State Papers. Domestic.[1]

Prince Charles to the Chiefs. Bannockburn, Jan. y^e 30th.

GENTLEMEN,—I have received y^rs of last night and am extremely surprised at the contents of it, w^ch I little expected from you at this time. Is it possible that a Victory and a Defeat shou'd produce the same effects, and that the Conquerors should flie from an engagement, whilst the conquer'd are seeking it? Shou'd we make the retreat you propose, how much more will that raise the spirits of our Ennemys and sink those of our own People? Can we imagin that where we go the Ennemy will not follow, and at last oblige us to a Battel which we now decline? Can we hope to defend ourselves at Perth, or keep our Men together there better than we do here? We must therefore continue our flight to the Mountains, and soon find our selves in a worse condition than we were in at Glenfinnen. What Opinion will the French and Spaniards then have of us, or what encouragement will it be to the former to make the descent for which they have been so long preparing, or the latter send us any more succours? . . . But what will become of our Lowland friends? Shall we persuade them to retire with us to the Mountains? Or shall we abandon them to the fury of our Merciless Ennemies? What an Encouragement will this be to them or others to rise in our favour, shou'd we, as you seem to hope, ever think our-

[1] Quoted in Blaikie, *Itinerary*, 76.

selves in a condition to pay them a second visit. . . . For my own Part, I must say that it is with the greatest reluctance that I can bring my self to consent to such a step, but having told you my thoughts upon it, I am too sensible of what you have already ventured and done for me, not to yield to y^r^ unanimous resolution if you persist in it. . . .[1]

JANUARY 31—FEBRUARY 20.

On February 1 the army withdrew to Perth and thence continued the retreat in three divisions: Murray, Drummond and the Lowland regiments by the coast road through Aberdeen; the Prince and the Clans by the Highland road to Inverness; Ogilvy and the Farquharsons through Coupar-Angus.[2] On February 16 Charles arrived at Moy Hall, where Lady Macintosh entertained him. That night he narrowly escaped capture by a force sent from Inverness by Lord Loudon.

The Lyon in Mourning, i. 149.

When the Prince was about going to rest, or rather when it became dark, Lady MacIntosh ordered one Frazer, a blacksmith (who happened to be there by chance, having a desire to see the Prince), and four servants, to get loaded muskets, and to go away privately beyond all the guards and sentries without allowing them to know anything about them or their design, and to walk on the

[1] Sir Thomas Sheridan conveyed this letter to the Chiefs and received their reply. They stood by their resolution, and received a second letter from Charles, printed in *Ibid.* 78.

[2] *Cf.* Blaikie, *Itinerary*, 38.

fields all night, and to keep a good look-out. . . . The blacksmith and his faithful four accordingly went pretty far beyond all the sentries, and walked up and down upon a muir, at the distance, Captain MacLeod said he believed, of two miles from MacIntosh's house. At last they spied betwixt them and the sky a great body of men moving towards them, and not at a great distance. The blacksmith fired his musket and killed one of Loudon's men, some say, the piper. . . . The four servants followed the blacksmith's example, and it is thought they too did some execution. Upon this the blacksmith huzzaed and cried aloud, 'Advance, Advance, my lads, Advance! (naming some particular regiments), I think we have the dogs now.' This so struck Lord Loudon's men with horrour, that instantly they wheel'd about, after firing some shots, and in great confusion ran back with speed to Inverness.[1]

Johnstone, *Memoirs*, 113.

Next morning the Prince assembled all his column, who had passed the night in the villages and hamlets some miles from Moy, and advanced to Inverness, with the intention of attacking Lord Loudon, and taking revenge for the attempt of the preceding night; but, as he approached the town, his Lordship retreated [February 18] across the arm of the

[1] *Cf.* Johnstone, *Memoirs*, 109; *The Lyon in Mourning*, i. 219; ii. 134.

sea, to the north of Inverness, after collecting and taking along with him to the other side all the boats, great and small, and other vessels that could aid us in pursuing him.

The castle of Inverness was fortified in the modern manner, being a regular square with four bastions, and it was advantageously situated on the top of an eminence, which commanded the town. . . . The governor of the castle [Grant of Rothiemurchus], who was in a situation to stand a siege, at first refused to comply with the summons of the Prince; but two hours after the trenches were opened, he surrendered himself [February 20] with his garrison, which consisted of two companies of Lord Loudon's regiment. The Prince immediately gave orders to raze the fortifications, and blow up the bastions. M. L'Epine, a serjeant in the French artillery, who was charged with the operation, lost his life on the occasion. This unfortunate individual, believing the match extinguished, approached to examine it, when the mine sprung, which blew him into the air, with the stones of the bastion, to an immense height.

FEBRUARY 21—APRIL 8.

To reduce the Government's forts in the North, to break up Loudon's retreating force, and to hold the Spey districts, constituted the main endeavours of the Prince's army from the fall of Inverness until the Duke of Cumberland's advance from Aberdeen on April 8. Fort Augustus was captured on March 5, but the siege of Fort William was abandoned on April 3.

Loudon's force was dispersed by the Duke of Perth in Sutherlandshire on March 20. On March 21 Cumberland's Argyleshire militia, who had occupied Keith, were there surrounded and captured. Lord George Murray and Cluny Macpherson marched into Perthshire, laid siege to Blair Castle, but abandoned the attempt on April 2 and returned to Inverness.[1] While these various enterprises tended to weaken and scatter the Prince's force, its defective commissariat under Hay of Restalrig made the task of keeping it together one of increasing difficulty. The Highlanders stole away to their glens and returned, in many cases, too late to fight the last battle at Culloden.

APRIL 8-15.

Home, *History*, 215.

On the 8th of April, the Duke of Cumberland left Aberdeen with the last division of his army, and advancing to the northward was joined by General Bland and General Mordaunt, with the troops under their command; so that the whole army met at Cullen, which is twelve miles from the river Spey. . . .

On the 12th of April, the army left Cullen, and marched on till they came to the Muir of Arroudel, which is about five or six miles from the river Spey. The army halted there, and formed in three divisions, each of them about half a mile distant from each other. The greatest division of the three was on the left, and marched along the high road: the other two divisions marched nearer the sea and the ships, which were on their right. In this order the army advanced till they came to the river [Spey], which

[1] *Cf.* Blaikie, *Itinerary*, 41.

the greatest division entered at a ford near Gormach, the next division to that at the Ford by Gordon Castle, and the next division on the right at a ford near the church of Belly. In this manner the Duke's army crossed the river Spey without opposition, though it was generally expected that the passage of the river would be disputed. But . . . when the King's troops were approaching the river, the banks of which are very high on the north-west side, the Duke of Perth drew off his men and retreated to Elgin.

The Duke of Cumberland's army encamped on the north side of the Spey, opposite to Fochabers.

On Sunday the 13th, the army marched from Speyside to the muir of Alves (which is a march of fourteen miles), and encamped near the parish church of Alves, four miles from Elgin.

On Monday the 14th, the army moved on to Nairn, which is seventeen miles from Alves. The vanguard, which consisted of some companies of grenadiers, with part of the Argyleshire men, and Kingston's light horse, marched on briskly. When they came to the bridge of Nairn, they found that the rear-guard of the rebels had not left the town, and a party of their men (some of the Irish piquets), standing at one end of the bridge, fired upon the grenadiers at the other; some shots were exchanged without much loss on either side.

Jacobite Memoirs, 118.[1]

On Saturday morning, the 12th of April, intelligence was brought [to the Prince at Inverness] that the Duke of Cumberland was marching with his whole army. They had been, for a fortnight before that, lying all the way from Aberdeen to Strathbogie, at which last place near half of their army was. Expresses were sent every where, to bring up our men. Those who had been at the siege of Fort William were on their march; but Lord Cromarty was at a great distance, with a great body of MacKenzies; and also Glengyle and M'Kinnon, with their men. It seems they were left there, after the Duke of Perth had dispersed Lord Loudon's corps, and was returned himself to Inverness. The other men that had been with him were cantoned north from Inverness. His Grace was then gone to Speyside, where Lord John Drummond also was. They had the Duke of Perth's regiment, those of the Gordons, the Farquharsons, Lord Ogilvie, John Roy Stewart, the Atholmen besides, and some others. Had the rest of our army been come up, we were all to have marched there. Clanranald's and the MacIntoshes were sent to strengthen them; and they had orders to retire as the Duke of Cumberland advanced. On Sunday morning, the 13th, it was confirmed that the enemy were coming on, and passed the Spey. Many of our people, as it was seed time, had slipt home; and as they had no pay

[1] From Lord George Murray's Journal.

for a month past, it was not an easy matter to keep them together. On Monday, the 14th, Lochiel came up; and that day, his Royal Highness went to Culloden, and all the other men as they came up marched there; and that night, the Duke of Perth came back with all the body he had at Speyside. The Duke of Cumberland . . . encamped this night at Nairn. Many were for retiring to stronger ground till all our army was gathered; but most of the baggage being at Inverness, this was not agreed to. Early on Tuesday morning [April 15], we all drew up in a line of battle, in an open muir near Culloden. I did not like the ground: it was certainly not proper for Highlanders. . . . It was then proposed a night attack might be attempted. His Royal Highness and most others were for venturing it, amongst whom I was; for I thought we had a better chance by doing it than by fighting in so plain a field; besides, those who had the charge of providing for the army were so unaccountably negligent, that there was nothing to give the men next day, and they had got very little that day. . . . Keppoch came up that evening; but before the time the army was to march, a vast number of the men went off on all hands to get and make ready provisions; and it was not possible to stop them. Then, indeed, almost every body gave it up as a thing not to be ventured.

The Lyon in Mourning, i. 258.

But the Prince continued keen for the attack,

and positive to attempt it, and said there was not a moment to be lost; for as soon as the men should see the march begun, not one of them would flinch. It was near eight at night when they moved. . . . Lord George Murray was in the van, Lord John Drummond in the centre, and the Duke of Perth towards the rear, where also the Prince was, having Fitz-James's horse and others with him. . . . There were about two officers and thirty men of the Mac-Intoshes in the front as guides, and some of the same were in the centre and rear, and in other parts, for hindering any of the men from straggling. Before the van had gone a mile, which was as slow as could be to give time to the line to follow, there was express after express sent to stop them, for that the rear was far behind . . . and of these messages I[1] am assured there came near an hundred before the front got near Culraick, which retarded them to such a degree that the night was far spent: for from the place the army began to march to Culraick was but six miles, and they had still four long miles to Nairn. It was now about one o'clock in the morning, when Lord John Drummond came up to the van and told . . . if they did not stop or go slower, he was afraid the rear would not get up. In a little time the Duke of Perth came also to the front, and assured that if there was not a halt the rear could not join. There was a stop accordingly. Lochiel had been mostly in the van all night, and his men were next the

[1] Possibly Lord George Murray, or one of his friends.

Athol men, who were in the front. . . . Mr. O'Sullivan now having come up to the front . . . said he had just then come from the Prince, who was very desirous the attack should be made; but as Lord George Murray had the van, and could judge the time, he left it to him whether to do it or not. . . .

Lord George Murray desired the rest of the gentlemen to give their opinions, for they were all deeply concerned in the consequence. It was agreed upon all hands that it must be sun-rise before the army could reach Nairn and form, so as to make an attempt upon the enemy's camp; for one part was to have passed the water a mile above the town, to have fallen upon them towards the sea-side. The volunteers were all very keen to march. Some of them said that the red-coats would be all drunk, as they surely had solemnised the Duke of Cumberland's birth-day. . . .

But the officers were of different sentiments. . . . Lochiel and his brother said they had been as much for the night attack as anybody could be, and it was not their fault that it had not been done; but blamed those in the rear that had marched so slow, and retarded the rest of the army. Lord George Murray was of the same way of thinking. . . .

By this time Mr. John Hay [of Restalrig] came up and told the line was joined. He was told the resolution was taken to return. He began to argue upon the point, but nobody minded him. . . . It was about two o'clock in the morning (the halt being

not above a quarter of an hour) when they went back in two columns, the rear facing about, and the van taking another way. . . . Day-light began to appear about an hour after. They got to Culloden pretty early, so that the men had three or four hours' rest.[1]

APRIL 16.

Lockhart Papers, ii. 509.

Upon our return [from Nairn] to the muir of Culoden, tho the P[rince] had given orders for bringing meat and drink for us to the field, which our men not expecting, through their great want of sleep, meat, and drink, many slipt off to take some refreshment in Inverness, Culoden, and the neighbourhood, and others to three or four miles distance, where they had freinds and acquaintances; and the said refreshment so lulled them asleep, that designing only to take ane hours rest or two they were afterwards surprised and killed in their beds. By this means we wanted in the action at least one third of our best men, and of those who did engage, many had hurried back from Inverness, etc., upon the alarm of the enemys aproach, both gentlemen and others, as I did myself, having only taken one drink of ale to supply all my need. Besides this deficiency in our severall regiments, which amounted to above a third (as I said), we likewise wanted Clunies brave clan of M^c^Pharsons, also Cromartys, which was

[1] *Cf. The Lyon in Mourning*, i. 85, 360; ii. 275; Johnstone, *Memoirs*, 129; Dennistoun, *Memoirs of Sir R. Strange*, i. 57.

surprised [on April 15, at Dunrobin] in Sutherland, Barisdales, M^cDonalds, and Glengyle, with his McGregors, etc., cut upon command in the shire of Ross. All these unhappy circumstances for us considered, it is no wonder the event of this day proved so fatal to us as it did. Add to this, what we of the Clan M^cDonalds thought ominous, we had not this day the right hand in battle . . . which our clan maintains we had enjoyed in all our battles and struggles in behalf of our Royall family since the battle of Bannockburn, in which glorious day, Robert the Bruce bestowed this honour upon Angus M^cDonald, Lord of the Isles, as a reward for . . . protecting him for above nine months in his country of Rachlin, Isla, and Vist, as the same name has done since to his royall successor.

Jacobite Memoirs, 123.[1]

Betwixt ten and eleven o'clock, we drew up in the muir, a little back from where we had been the day before. I told Mr O'Sullivan, who was placing the men in the order of battle, that I was convinced it was wrong ground; but he said that the muir was so interspersed with moss and deep ground, that the enemy's horse and cannon could be of little advantage to them. We had still time to cross the water [of Nairn] and take up the ground which Brigadier Stapleton and Colonel Ker had viewed the day before; for our right was within three hundred paces

[1] From Lord George Murray's Journal.

of the water, and the banks were very steep, which was nothing to hinder Highlanders, and our horse and cannon could have crossed at a small ford, a mile farther back; but I reckon the belief that the enemy would have marched straight to Inverness was the occasion that we did not quit that plain muir. . . . Cluny was within three or four miles, with above four hundred men, and was marching as quickly as possible, and many others were hourly expected. . . . So I am persuaded that night, or next morning, we would have been near two thousand stronger; and had we passed that water, in all probability we would not have fought that day; so that if the Duke of Cumberland had encamped that night upon the muir, which very possibly he might, we would have had a fair chance next day.

The Lyon in Mourning, i. 86.[1]

[Our men] began to form by the Prince's orders, who all the time stood with Lochiel and Mr. Sullivan, frequently complaining they were long in forming. A little after they were formed, we observed the horse and the Argileshire men on the left of the enemy drawing to a distance from the main body and inclining to our right, on which the Athol and Cameron officers were afraid to be flanked. This made Lochiel send to Lord George Murray, then on the left with the Duke of Perth, to tell him of the danger. Lord George Murray (whom

[1] From the Journal of John Cameron, chaplain at Fort William.

I heard formerly say that the park would be of great service to prevent our being flanked) on this took a narrower view of it, and sent three gentlemen, viz., Colonel Sullivan, John Roy Stewart, and Ker of Grydan [Graden] to view it down to the Water of Nairn. At their return they said it was impossible for any horse to come by that way. The men still believed they might be flanked, and some proposed lining the park wall. The Duke of Perth, who came from the left, was of their opinion. But Lord George Murray, thinking otherwise, ordered Lord Ogilvie's regiment to cover the flank, told there was no danger, and to Lord Ogilvie said, he hoped and doubted not but he would acquit himself as usual.

Memoirs of Sir Robert Strange, i. 61.

It being determined to give battle to the Duke, no time was now lost in forming the lines, and in making every proper disposition. The right of the army commanded by Lord George Murray, was composed of his own regiment of Athol, the Camerons, Stuarts of Appin, one battalion of the Frasers, and the Mac intoshes. The left wing, commanded by the Duke of Perth, consisted of the MacDonalds of Glengarry, Keppoch, and Clanronald, two companies of Mac-Leans, two of MacLeods, and the Farquharsons.[1]

[1] Finlayson's plan of the battle shows some Chisholms and Maclachlans in the first line, in addition to those mentioned by Strange (*cf.* Blaikie, *Itinerary*, 97). Home gives the Maclachlans and Macleans as a 'united regiment' (*History*, 227). He omits the Macleods.

The second line, commanded by Lord John Drummond and Major-general Stapleton, consisted of the Irish pickets, the regiments of Lord Ogilvy,[1] Lord Lewis Gordon, Duke of Perth, and Lord John Drummond. On the right wing, behind the second line, was a troop of Fitz-James's horse, and on the left, part of the horse-guards, Perthshire squadron, and hussars. The regiment of Kilmarnock's foot-guards, and Colonel John Roy Stuart,[2] with such of the men as had no guns, formed a sort of reserve. The Prince, attended by his aides-de-camp, and Lord Elcho's guards, placed himself towards the centre, behind the first line. We had six pieces of cannon; two placed on the right, two on the left, and two in the centre of the front line.

Home, *History*, 229.

The Duke of Cumberland [who had set out from Nairn at break of day], seeing that the rebels had taken their ground to give him battle, ordered a halt; and breaking his columns into two lines of foot, flanked with horse, and having a strong body of reserve, advanced towards the enemy.

The first line of the duke's army consisted of six regiments of foot. The Royal had the right. On

[1] Both Finlayson and Home, in his plan, place Ogilvy in the reserve.

[2] Finlayson places Kilmarnock in the second line and Roy Stewart in the first. Home also places Roy Stewart in the first line, but confirms Strange as to Kilmarnock's position (with 'the remains' of Strathallan's and Pitsligo's horse) in the reserve.

their left stood Cholmondely's, Price's, the Scots Fusileers, Monro's, and Burrel's. The second line consisted of the same number of regiments. Howard's regiment had the right; on their left stood Fleming's, Ligonier's, Blyth's, Sempill's, and Wolfe's. The reserve consisted of Blakeney's, Battereau's, and Pulteney's. The Duke of Kingston's regiment of light horse, and one squadron of Lord Cobham's dragoons, were placed on the right of the first line; Lord Mark Ker's regiment of dragoons, and two squadrons of Lord Cobham's, on the left. When the King's army came within five or six hundred paces of the rebel army, part of the ground in their front was so soft and boggy, that the horses which drew the cannon sunk, and were obliged to be taken off: the soldiers, slinging their firelocks, dragged the cannon across the bog. As soon as the cannon were brought to firmer ground, two field pieces, short six pounders, were placed in the intervals between the battalions; and Colonel Belford of the artillery, who directed the cannon of the Duke's army, began to fire upon the rebels, who, for some time, had been firing upon the King's troops from several batteries; but the cannon of the rebels were very ill served, and did little harm. The Duke's artillery did great execution, making lanes through the Highland regiments. The Duke of Cumberland, observing the wall on the right flank of the Highland army, ordered Colonel Belford to continue the cannonade, with a view to make the

Highlanders leave the ground where they stood, and come down to attack his army. During the cannonade, which began a little after one o'clock, and lasted till near two, the Duke made several changes in the disposition of his army. Wolfe's regiment, which stood on the left of the second line, and extended somewhat beyond the left of the first line, was moved from its place (where the men were standing in water up to their ankles) and brought to the left of the first line, where they wheeled to the right (and formed *en potence*, as it is called), making a front to the north, so as to fire upon the flank of the rebels, if they should come down to attack the King's army. The Duke, at the same time, ordered two regiments to move up from the reserve, so that Pulteney's regiment stood on the right of the Royal, which had the right of the first line before, and Battereau's regiment stood on the right of Howard's regiment in the second line. His Royal Highness, after making these changes in the disposition of his army, placed himself between the first and second line, in the front of Howard's regiment.

While these changes were making, Colonel Belford, observing the body of horse with Charles, ordered two pieces of cannon to be pointed at them; several discharges were made; and some balls broke ground among the horses' legs. Charles had his face bespattered with dirt; and one of his servants, who stood behind the squadron with a led horse in his hand, was killed. Meanwhile the cannonade con-

tinued, and the Highlanders in the first line, impatient of suffering without doing any harm to their enemies, grew clamorous to be led on to the attack. A message was sent to Locheil, whose regiment stood next the Athol brigade, desiring that he would represent to Lord George Murray the necessity of attacking immediately. While Locheil was speaking with Lord George, the Macintosh regiment brake out from the centre of the first line; and advanced against the regiment opposite to them, which was the 21st. But the fire of the field-pieces, and the small arms of the 21st, made the Macintoshes incline to the right, from whence all the regiments to their right, with one regiment to their left, were coming down to the charge. These regiments, joining together, advanced under a heavy fire of cannon (loaded with grape shot) and musketry in their front, and a flank fire when they came near Wolfe's regiment. Notwithstanding which they still advanced, and attacking sword in hand, broke through Burrel's and Monro's in the first line, and pushed on to the second. In the second line, immediately behind Burrel's, stood Sempill's regiment, which during the attack had advanced fifty or sixty paces; and their front rank kneeling and presenting, waited till Burrel's men got out of their way. For the soldiers of Burrel's and Monro's did not run directly back, but went off behind the battalions on their right. The Highlanders, who had broke through the first line, were

got close together, without any interval between one Clan and another; and the greater part of them came on directly against Sempill's regiment, which allowed them to come very near, and then gave them a terrible fire that brought a great many of them to the ground, and made most of those who did not fall turn back. A few, and but a few, still pressed on, desperate and furious, to break into Sempill's regiment, which not a man of them ever did, the foremost falling at the end of the soldiers' bayonets.

Blyth's regiment, which was on the right of Sempill's, gave their fire at the same time, and repulsed those that were advancing against them. When the Highland regiments on the right of their first line made this attack, the regiments on the left, the Farquharsons, and the three Macdonald regiments, did not advance at the same time, nor attack in the same manner. They came so near the King's army, as to draw upon themselves some fire from the regiments that were opposite to them, which they returned by a general discharge, and the Macdonalds had drawn their swords to attack in the usual manner; but seeing those regiments, that had attacked sword in hand, repulsed and put to flight, they also went off. When the Highlanders in the first line gave way, the King's army did not pursue immediately. The regiments of foot, from right to left, were ordered to stand upon the ground where they had fought,

and dress their ranks. The horse on the right of the King's army were the first that pursued, and they were very near the Macdonalds, when the Irish piquets came down from their place in the second line, and fired upon the dragoons, who halted, and the Macdonalds fell back to the second line. The two lines joined formed a considerable body of men; but their hearts were broken, and their condition was altogether hopeless and irretrievable: in their front they saw the infantry which had defeated them, and reduced their two lines to one, preparing to advance against them. On their right flank, and somewhat behind them, they saw a body of the Duke's cavalry ready to fall upon them as soon as the infantry should advance.

Such was the condition of the rebels, when the Duke of Cumberland, with his infantry, advanced towards them. At his approach they began to separate, and go off in small parties, four or five together. The rest made two large bodies; one of these, in which were most of the Western Highlanders, directed their course towards Badenoch, and the hills of their own country. The other, and much the smaller body, in which were the Frasers, Lord John Drummond's regiment, and the Irish piquets, marched straight to Inverness.

Ibid. 238.

The Highlanders who attacked sword in hand were the Maclachlans and Macleans (making one

regiment), the Macintoshes, the Frasers, the Stuarts, and the Camerons.

Most of the Chiefs who commanded these five regiments were killed, and almost every man in the front rank of each regiment. Maclachan, Colonel of the united regiment, was killed by a cannon ball, and the Lieutenant-Colonel, Maclean of Drimnin, who succeeded to the command, bringing off his shattered regiment, and missing two of his sons, for he had three in the field, turned back to look for them, and was killed by a random shot. Macgillivray of Drumnaglass, Colonel of the Macintosh regiment, was killed in the attack, with the Lieutenant-Colonel, the Major, and all the officers of his regiment, three excepted. Charles Fraser, younger of Inverallachie, who was Lieutenant-Colonel, and commanded the Fraser regiment, was killed. The Stuart regiment had a number, both officers and men, killed in the attack; but Stuart of Appin, their Chief, never having joined the standard of Charles, the regiment was commanded by Stuart of Ardshiel, who escaped from the field. Cameron of Locheil, advancing at the head of his regiment, was so near Burrel's, that he had fired his pistol, and was drawing his sword when he fell, wounded with grape-shot in both ankles. The two brothers, between whom he was advancing, raised him up, and carried him off in their arms. When the Macdonalds' regiment retreated, without having attempted to attack sword in hand, Mac-

donald of Keppoch advanced with his drawn sword in one hand, and his pistol in the other; he had got but a little way from his regiment, when he was wounded by a musket shot, and fell. A friend who had followed, conjuring him not to throw his life away, said that the wound was not mortal, that he might easily join his regiment, and retreat with them. Keppoch desired him to take care of himself, and going on, received another shot, and fell to rise no more.[1]

APRIL 16—JULY 18.

Johnstone, *Memoirs*, 146.

The right wing of our army retreated towards the river Nairn, and met in their way a body of English cavalry, which appeared as much embarrassed as the Highlanders; but the English commander very wisely opened a way for them in the centre, and allowed them to pass at the distance of a pistol shot, without attempting to molest them or to take prisoners. . . .

Our left, which fled towards Inverness, was less

[1] Other accounts of the battle are in Johnstone, *Memoirs*, 140; *The Lyon in Mourning*, i. 67, 103; *Lockhart Papers*, ii. 520, 530; Henderson, *Life of Cumberland*, 252; Henderson, *History*, 322; *Jacobite Memoirs*, 123, 140; Hewins, *Whitefoord Papers*, 76; Ray, *Compleat History*, 337; *Scots Magazine*, 1746, pp. 185, 215, 523; Marchant, *History*, 383; Lochgarry's account, in Blaikie, *Itinerary*, 120; Allardyce, *Historical Papers*, ii. 608; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1746, pp. 209, 241; *Historical MSS. Comm.* Rept. x. Pt. 1. 442; Maxwell of Kirkconnell, *Narrative*, 148; Cumberland's despatch, in *State Papers*: Scotland: April 18, 1746.

fortunate. Having been pursued by the English cavalry, the road from Culloden to that town was every where strewed with dead bodies. . . .

As soon as the Prince saw his army begin to give way, he made his escape with a few horsemen of Fitzjames's piquet. Some hours after the battle, Lord Elcho found him in a cabin, beside the river Nairn, surrounded by Irish, and without a single Scotsman near him, in a state of complete dejection. . . . Lord Elcho represented to him that this check was nothing, as was really the case; and exerted himself to the utmost to persuade him to think only of rallying his army . . . but he was insensible to all that his lordship could suggest, and utterly disregarded his advice.

I arrived, on the 18th, at Ruthven, which happened by chance to become the rallying point of our army, without having been previously fixed on. There I found the Duke of Athol, Lord George Murray, the Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond, Lord Ogilvie, and many other chiefs of clans, with about four or five thousand Highlanders, all in the best possible dispositions for renewing hostilities and taking their revenge. . . .

We passed the 19th at Ruthven without any news from the Prince. All the Highlanders were cheerful and full of spirits, to a degree perhaps never before witnessed in an army so recently beaten, expecting, with impatience, every moment the arrival of the Prince; but, on the 20th, Mr. Macleod, Lord

George's aide-de-camp, who had been sent to him, returned with the following laconic answer: 'Let every man seek his safety in the best way he can'—an inconsiderate answer, heartbreaking to the brave men who had sacrificed themselves for him.[1] . . .

We were masters of the passes between Ruthven and Inverness, which gave us sufficient time to assemble our adherents. The clan of Macpherson of Clunie, consisting of five hundred very brave men, besides many other Highlanders, who had not been able to reach Inverness before the battle, joined us at Ruthven; so that our numbers increased every moment, and I am thoroughly convinced that, in the course of eight days, we should have had a more powerful army than ever. . . . But the Prince was inexorable and immoveable in his resolution of abandoning his enterprise, and terminating in this inglorious manner an expedition, the rapid progress of which had fixed the attention of all Europe. . . .

Our separation at Ruthven was truly affecting. We bade one another an eternal adieu. No one could tell whether the scaffold would not be his fate. The Highlanders gave vent to their grief in wild howlings and lamentations; the tears flowed down their cheeks when they thought that their country was now at the discretion of the Duke of Cumberland, and on the point of being plundered; whilst they and their children would be reduced to

[1] *Cf.* Blaikie, *Itinerary*, 45, note 1.

slavery, and plunged, without resource, into a state of remediless distress.[1]

The Duke of Cumberland, after his victory, advanced to Inverness and received the surrender of Brigadier Stapleton and his Irish piquets. The punishment of the Highlanders, already dispersing to their glens, was ruthlessly prosecuted.

Hewins, *Whitefoord Papers*, 79.[2]

We have [by now, July 1746] pretty well clear'd our neighbourhood about this place. Privat Rebels, who come in and surrender their arms, receive certificates, and return unmolested to their homes, till his Majesties further pleasure is known. Those who are found in arms are order'd to be immediately put to death, and the houses of those who abscond are plunder'd and burnt, their cattle drove, their ploughs and other tackle destroyed.

We have troops all along the East coast, and in the shires of Aberdeen, Forfar, and Angus. B[rigadier] Mordaunt in his march to Perth[3] would not neglect Badmoth and Athole, and his R[l] H. [the Duke of Cumberland] with the army here proposeing very soon to march to Fort Augustus will not fail to put some order in the West. We have been here since the 24[th] of last month and have not been alto-

[1] An attempt to rally the Clans at Muirlaggan on May 8 also failed. *Cf. The Lyon in Mourning*, i. 88; Home, *History*, 384.

[2] From a letter of Lieutenant-Colonel Whitefoord.

[3] He arrived there on May 19, and 'burnt some rebels houses and nonjurants meeting-houses on the way.'—*Scots Magazine*, 1746, p. 240.

gether idle. The M°Phersons have brought in all their arms to Lord Loudoun in Badenoch; we have entirely swept Lochaber, in which at present there are but very few houses standing, and have a party of 800 men out, which is to clear the Glen Ely, Knodiart, Moidart, and Ariseg; that perform'd, the Army will have little to do here, as the Northern shires of Southerland, Caithness, Ross, and Strathnavaies are quiet, and we have put it out of the power of the others to give them or us any disturbance. I fancy the Duke will set out in about a week for Ed[inburgh].[1]

[1] He left Fort Augustus for England on July 18.—*Scots Magazine*, 1746, p. 342. Whitefoord's letter gives the barest outline of the Duke's scourging of the Highlands. *Cf.* Bishop Forbes's 'Barbarities after Culloden,' in *Jacobite Memoirs*, 231.

CHAPTER VI

THE PRINCE IN THE HIGHLANDS

April 16-25, 1746.

The Lyon in Mourning, i. 190.[1]

Our small, hungry, and fatigued army being put into confusion and overpowered by numbers, was forced to retreat. Then it was that Edward Bourk fell in with the Prince, having no right guide and very few along with him. . . . The Prince was pleased to say to Ned, 'If you be a true friend, pray endeavour to lead us safe off.' Which honour Ned was not a little fond of, and promised to do his best. Then the Prince rode off from the way of the enemy to the Water of Nairn, where, after advising, he dismist all the men that were with him, being about sixty of Fitz-James's horse that had followed him. After which Edward Bourk said, 'Sir, if you please, follow me. I'll do my endeavour to make you safe.' The Prince accordingly followed him, and with Lord Elcho, Sir Thomas Sheridan, O'Sullivan, and Mr. Alexander MacLeod, aid-de-

[1] From Edward Burke's Journal.

camp, marched to Tordarroch, where they got no access, and from Tordarroch through Aberarder, where likewise they got no access; from Aberarder to Faroline, and from Faroline to Gortuleg, where they met with Lord Lovat, and drank three glasses of wine with him.

About 2 o'clock next morning [April 17] with great hardships we arrived at the Castle of Glengary, called Invergary, where the guide (Ned Burk) spying a fishing-net set, pulled it to him, and found two salmonds, which the guide made ready in the best manner he could, and the meat was reckoned very savoury and acceptable. After taking some refreshment the Prince wanted to be quit of the cloathing he had on, and Ned gave him his own coat. At 3 o'clock afternoon, the Prince, O'Sullivan, another private gentleman,[1] and the guide set out and came to the house of one Cameron of Glenpean.

Ibid. i. 68.

He arrived there [Glenpean] on the 18th at two in the morning, and went to sleep, which he had not done for five days and nights. . . . He remained there till 5 o'clock in the afternoon in hopes of obtaining some intelligence, but gaining none, he set out from thence on foot, and travell'd to the Glens of Morar, over almost inaccessible mountains.

[1] Allan Macdonald.—*The Lyon*, i. 321.

Ibid. i. 322.[1]

Upon Saturday's morning, being the 19th, he came to Oban in Kinlochmors, a corner of Clanranald's estate, and for their further security contented themselves that night for their lodgment with a small sheal house near a wood.

Early upon the 20th his royal highness got up and went straight to Arisaig, to a town called Glenbiastill [Glenbeasdale],[2] where the Prince got a sute of new Highland cloaths from Angus MacDonald of Borodale's spouse, the better to disguise him and to make him pass for one of the country. At Glenbiastill the few gentlemen (that happened to come home from that unlucky battle of Culloden) of Clanranald's men assembled about the Prince, in order to consult and lay their schemes for his present and future safety, being convinced that the enemy would probably soon be about them if not resisted. His royal highness stayed at Glenbiastill for four nights.

On April 21, Donald Macleod of Gualtergill in Skye, whom Æneas Macdonald had sent to guide the Prince to the islands, arrived at Borradale.

The Lyon in Mourning, i. 161.[3]

When Donald came to Boradale, the first man he met with was the Prince in a wood, all alone. . . .

The Prince, making towards Donald, asked,

[1] From Captain Alexander Macdonald's Journal.
[2] *Cf. The Lyon*, iii. 375.
[3] From Donald Macleod's Journal.

'Are you Donald MacLeod of Guatergill in Sky?' 'Yes,' said Donald, 'I am the same man, may it please your Majesty, at your service. What is your pleasure wi' me?' . . . 'Why,' said the Prince, 'the service I am to put you upon I know you can perform very well. It is that you may go with letters from me to Sir Alexander MacDonald and the Laird of MacLeod. . . .' 'What,' said Donald, 'does not your excellency know that these men have played the rogue to you altogether, and will you trust them for a' that? Na, you mauna do't.' . . .

When Donald MacLeod had absolutely refused to go any message whatsomever to Sir Alexander MacDonald and the Laird of MacLeod, the Prince said to him, 'I hear, Donald, you are a good pilot; that you know all this coast well, and therefore I hope you can carry me safely through the islands, where I may look for more safety than I can do here.' Donald answered . . . that he most willingly undertook to do his best in the service he now proposed. For this purpose Donald procured a stout eight-oar'd boat, the property of John MacDonald, son of Æneas or Angus MacDonald of Borodale. . . . Donald took care to buy a pot for boyling pottage or the like when they should happen to come to land, and a poor firlot of meal was all the provision he could make out to take with them.[1]

[1] Before sailing from the mainland on April 26, the Prince wrote a letter of farewell to his followers. It is printed in Browne, *History of the Highlands*, iii. 263.

APRIL 26—MAY 14.

The Lyon in Mourning, i. 163.[1]

April 26th. They go on board in the twilight of the evening in Lochnannua[gh], at Boradale, being the very spot of ground where the Prince landed at first upon the continent. . . . There were in the boat the Prince, Captain O'Sullivan, Captain O'Neil,[2] Allan MacDonald, commonly called Captain MacDonald (of the family of Clanranald), and a clergyman of the Church of Rome; and Donald MacLeod, for pilot, managing the helm, and betwixt whose feet the Prince took his seat. The names of the boatmen are: Rhoderick MacDonald, Lauchlan MacMurrich, Rhoderick MacCaskgill, John MacDonald, Murdoch MacLeod (son of the pilot), Duncan Roy, Alexander MacDonald, and Edward Bourk or Burk, a common chairman in Edinburgh. . . .

They had not rowed far from the shore till a most violent tempest arose. . . . When the Prince saw the storm increasing still more and more, he wanted much to be at land again, and desired Donald to steer directly for the rock which runs for no less than three miles along one side of the loch. 'For,' said the Prince, 'I had rather face canons and muskets than be in such a storm as this.' But Donald would not hear of this proposal. . . .

[1] From Donald Macleod's Journal.

[2] O'Neil joined the Prince 'at Knoidart,' having been left by him at Invergarry 'to direct such as pass'd that way the road he took.'—*The Lyon*, i. 367.

After this all was hush and silence; not one word more amongst them, expecting every moment to be overwhelmed with the violence of the waves, and to sink down to the bottom. To make the case still worse, they had neither pump nor compass nor lantern with them. . . . 'But,' to use Donald's words, 'as God would have it, by peep of day we discovered ourselves to be on the coast of the Long Isle, and we made directly to the nearest land, which was Rushness [Rossinish] in the Island Benbecula. With great difficulty we got on shore, and saved the boat, hawling her up to dry land, in the morning of April 27th.' . . .

When they landed at Rushness in Benbecula, they came to an uninhabited hut where they made a fire to dry their cloaths, for all of them were wet through and through in to the skin, and an old sail was spread upon the bare ground, which served for a bed to the Prince, who was very well pleased with it, and slept soundly. Here they kill'd a cow, and the pot which Donald had brought served them in good stead for boyling bits of the beef. In this poor hut they remained two days and two nights.[1]

April 29th. In the evening they set sail from Benbecula on board the same eight-oar'd boat for the island Scalpay, commonly called the Island Glass, where they landed safely about two hours before daylight next day, the Prince and O'Sullivan going under the name of Sinclair, the latter passing for

[1] Here they were visited by Clanranald.—*The Lyon*, i. 323.

the father, and the former for the son. . . . In this island Donald MacLeod had an acquaintance, Donald Campbell, to whose house he brought the Prince and his small retinue before break of day, April 30th. Being all cold and hungry, Donald MacLeod desired immediately to have a good fire, which was instantly got for them. Donald MacLeod was here only one night, but the Prince remained four nights, and was most kindly entertained by his hospitable landlord. . . .

May 1st. Donald MacLeod was dispatched by the Prince to Storn[o]way in the island of Lewis, in order to hire a vessel under a pretence of sailing to the Orkneys to take in meal for the Isle of Sky, as Donald used to deal in that way formerly. . . . Donald left the eight-oar'd boat at Scalpay, and got another boat from his friend, Mr. Campbell, in which he sailed for Stornway, where he remained some time without making out the design on which he was sent. But at last he succeeded, and then dispatched an express to the Prince in Scalpay . . . to inform him that he had got a vessel to his mind.

May 4th. The Prince (leaving Allan MacDonald, the Popish clergyman, in Scalpay, who afterwards returned to South Uist) set out on foot for Stornoway, attended by O'Sullivan and O'Neil, taking a guide along to direct them the right road. The guide, in going to the Harris . . . took them eight miles out of the way. In coming from Harris

to the Lewis they fell under night, and a very stormy and rainy night it was, which fatigued them very much, their journey, by the mistake of their guide, being no less than thirty-eight long Highland miles.

May 5th. When in sight of Stornway the Prince sent the guide to Donald MacLeod to inform him that he and the two captains were at such a place, desiring withal that he would forthwith send them a bottle of brandy and some bread and cheese. . . . Donald immediately obeyed the summons and came to the Prince, bringing along with him the demanded provisions. He found the Prince and his two attendants upon a muir all wet to the skin. . . . Donald told the Prince that he knew of a faithful and true friend to take care of him till things should be got ready for the intended voyage. This was the Lady Killdun at Arynish [Mrs. Mackenzie of Kildun House in Arnish], to whose house Donald conducted the Prince and his two attendants. Here the Prince was obliged to throw off his shirt, which one of the company did wring upon the hearth-stone, and did spread it upon a chair before the fire to have it dried.

The same day, May 5th, Donald was sent back to Stornway to get things in readiness. But when he came there, to his great surprize he found no less than two or three hundred men in arms . . . for that they were well assured the Prince was already upon the Lewis, and not far from Stornway, with five

hundred men. This they said exposed them to the hazard of losing both their cattle and their lives. . . . Donald very gravely asked, How sorrow such a notion could ever enter into their heads? . . . They replied that Mr. John MacAulay,[1] Presbyterian preacher in South Uist, had writ these accounts to his father in the Harris, and that the said father had transmitted the same to Mr. Colin MacKenzie, Presbyterian teacher in the Lewis. Donald saned these blades, the informers, very heartily. . . . 'Well then,' said Donald, 'since you know already that the Prince is upon your island, I acknowledge the truth of it; but then . . . he has only but two companions with him, and when I am there I make the third. And yet let me tell you farther, gentlemen, if Seaforth himself were here, by G—— he durst not put a hand to the Prince's breast.' . . .

Donald desired they would give him a pilot, but they absolutely refused to give him one . . . such was the terror and dread the people were struck with. Donald then returned to the Prince, and gave him an honest account how matters stood, which made them all at a loss to know what course to take, all choices having but a bad aspect. . . .

In this great difficulty the Prince declared, let the consequence be what it would, he could not think of stirring anywhere that night till he should sleep a little, so much was he fatigued with the late tedious journey. And the two captains were no less wearied,

[1] Lord Macaulay's grandfather.

being quite undone.[1] To make their case still worse, two of the boatmen had run away from Stornway, being frighted out of their wits at the rising of the men in arms.

May 6th. About eight o'clock in the morning the Prince, O'Sullivan, O'Neil, Donald MacLeod, and the six boatmen (two whereof were Donald's own son and honest Ned Bourk), went on board Donald Campbell's boat, which they had got at Scalpa, and sailed for the Island Euirn [Iubhard], twelve miles from Stornway, and landed safely. This Euirn is a desert island round which the people of the Lewis use to go a fishing. . . .

Upon the desart island they found plenty of good dry fish. . . . As they had plenty of brandy and sugar along with them, and found very good springs upon the island, they wanted much to have a little warm punch to chear their hearts in this cold remote place. They luckily found a earthen pitcher which . . . served their purpose very well for heating the punch. But the second night the pitcher by some accident or another was broke to pieces, so that they could have no more warm punch. . . .

Upon this uninhabited island they remained four days and four nights in a low, pityful hut, which the fishers had made up for themselves; but it was so ill-roofed that they were obliged to spread the sail of the boat over the top of it. They found heath and turf enough to make a fire of; but had nothing

[1] *Cf. The Lyon*, i. 191, 369.

but the bare ground to lie along upon when disposed to take a nap, without any covering upon them at all. . . .

May 10th. They set sail from the uninhabited island, when the Prince told his retinue he was determined to return to Scalpay or the Island Glass, in order to pay his respects to honest Donald Campbell. . . . When they arrived at Scalpay, Donald Campbell was not at home, having gone a skulking for fear of being laid up, an account or rumour having passed from hand to hand that the Prince had been in his house. . . . The Prince was sorry at missing his hospitable friend, and set sail directly from Scalpa the same day, May 10th. . . . In coursing along they happened to spy a ship at Finisbery,[1] in the Harris, within two musket-shot, before they observed her. They were on the windward of the ship at the mouth of the said bay, and made all the haste they could along the coast to Benbicula. In this course they spied another ship in Lochmaddy, in North Uist, which occasioned them to make all the sail and rowing they could to get free of the mouth of the loch and out of sight of the ship.

May 11th. Being still upon the sea they fell short of bread; but having some meal on board, and the men turning very hungry and thirsty, they began to make Dramach (in Erse *Stappack*) with salt water, and to lick it up. . . . Donald said the Prince ate

[1] *Cf. The Lyon*, i. 193.

of it very heartily, and much more than he could do for his life. Never any meat or drink came wrong to him, for he could take a share of every thing, be it good, bad, or indifferent, and was always chearful and contented in every condition.

May 11th. They arrived at Lochwiskaway [Loch Uskavagh], in Benbicula, and had scarce got ashore [on an island in the Loch], when the wind proved quite contrary to what it had been, blowing a gale, which served to make the ships they had spied steer an opposite course.

The Lyon in Mourning, i. 193.[1]

[On this island] we came to a poor grasskeeper's bothy or hut, which had so laigh a door, that we digged below the door and put heather below the Prince's knees, he being tall, to let him go the easier into the poor hut. We stayed there about three nights, and provided ourselves very well in victuals by fowling and fishing, and drest them in the best shapes we could, and thought them very savoury meat.

Thence we went [May 14] to the mountain of Coradale, in South Uist.

MAY 15—JUNE 5.

Ibid. i. 174.[2]

[The Prince] dispatched Donal MacLeod [from Coradale] in Campbell's boat to the continent with

[1] From Edward Burke's Journal.
[2] From Donald Macleod's Journal.

letters to Lochiel and John Murray of Broughton, in order to know how affairs stood, and that Donald might bring along with him some cash and brandy. Donald met with Lochiel and Murray at the head of Locharkaig;[1] but got no money at all from Murray, who said he had none to give, having only about sixty louis d'ores to himself, which was not worth the while to send. Donald received letters from Lochiel and Murray to the Prince, and found means without much ado to purchase two anchors of brandy at a guinea per anchor. . . .

Donald was absent from the Prince eighteen days or thereabouts, and upon his return he found the Prince where he left him upon Coradale. During his abode on this mountain he lived in a tenant's house, only a hut better than ordinary, diverting and maintaining himself with hunting and fishing.

The Lyon in Mourning, i. 326.[2]

In the Forrest house [at Coradale] the Prince (when resting himself) used to sit on a fail-sunk, *i.e.* an earthen seat, having some fog and plaids under him, and would step into a by-chamber, which served as a pantry, and (when he stood in need of it) put the bottle of brandy or whiskie to his head and take his dram without any ceremony. Upon the [3rd ?][3]

[1] *Cf.* Lang, *Companions of Pickle*, chap. vi.; Chambers, *History*, App.

[2] From Captain Alexander Macdonald's Journal.

[3] *Cf.* Blaikie, *Itinerary*, 51.

day of June, MacDonald of Boystil [Boisdale], Hugh MacDonald of Bailshair in North Uist, of the family of Slate [Sleat], James and Lauchlan MacDonalds, and Ranald MacDonald of Torulum, of Clanranald's family, visited the Prince in his Forrest palace to pay him the compliments of the day. Their drink was only cold brandy out of a clean shell without any mixture at all, and the Prince stood it out better than any one of them in drinking the health of the day.

A rigorous search for the Prince was meanwhile maintained. A squadron was watching the coasts, and General Campbell, who had gone in pursuit of Charles to the Western Isles, returned to Barra and South Uist before the middle of June. The Macleods of Skye, also, were hunting for the Prince in the neighbourhood of Benbecula. On June 6, therefore, he continued his flight.

JUNE 6-21.

The Lyon in Mourning, i. 268.[1]

From the foot of the mountain of Coradale they set sail [June 6] in Campbell's boat still, and landed in the Island Ouia [Wiay], at Benbicula, where they stayed four nights.

From thence [June 10] the Prince and O'Neil, with a guide, went to Rushness [Rossinish], where Lady Clanranald was. Donald [Macleod] and O'Sullivan were left at Ouia, where they abode two nights after the Prince had gone off to Rushness by land. The third night after the Prince had been at

[1] From Donald Macleod's Journal.

Rushness, he got information that it was advisable he should go back again to the place from whence he had come; but he knew not well what to do, as the boats of the militia had been all the time in the course between Ouia and Rushness. Donald and O'Sullivan, hearing of the Prince's situation, set sail [June 12] under favour of the night, and brought the Prince off from Rushness, steering their course from thence south again back towards Coradale hill. But meeting with a violent storm, and a very heavy rain, they were forced to put into Uishness Point, two miles and an half north of Coradale. The place they put up at in that night [June 13] is called Achkir-sideallich [Acarseid Fhalaich], a rock upon the shore, in a clift of which they took up their quarters, the storm continuing for a whole day. At night, the enemy being within less than two miles of them, they set sail again, and arrived [June 14] safely at Ciliestiella [Kyle Stuley], from whence they steered their course towards Loch Boisdale. But one on board swore that there was a long-boat in their way, and therefore they steered back to Ciliestiella . . . and stayed there that night. Next day [June 15] they set out for Loch Boisdale.

The Lyon in Mourning, i. 195.[1]

All that day we were obliged to keep in a narrow creek till night that we got into Loch Boisdale. Afterwards coming ashore very much fatigued, we

[1] From Edward Burke's Journal.

came to an old tower in the mouth of the island, where we kindled fire, put on our pot in order to make ready some provisions; and Ned Burk went out to pull some heath for the Prince's bed. Meantime Donald MacLeod of Gualtergill said there were two French ships of war appearing; but to our great surprize they proved to be Englishmen. The Prince with three others took to the mountains, and the rowers went to the barge lying in the creek and steered up the loch.

The men-of-war steered to the main. At night [June 15] we all met again at our barge, wherein we had still some small provisions. We stayed in the open fields two nights, having only the sails of the boat for covers. On the third night [June 18] we went farther into the loch, and rested thereabouts for other two nights [June 19 and 20].

Ibid. i. 177.[1]

There were at that time two ships of war in the mouth of Loch Boisdale, for whom they durst not make out of the loch to the sea. Besides there was a command of above five hundred redcoats and militia within a mile and a half of them. All choices were bad, but (under God) they behoved to remove from the place where they then were, and to do their best.

The Prince [June 21] called for the boatmen, and ordered O'Sullivan to pay every one of them a shill-

[1] From Donald Macleod's Journal.

ing sterling a day, besides their maintenance. He gave a draught of sixty pistols to Donald MacLeod to be paid by Mr. John Hay of Restalrig, if he should happen to be so lucky as to meet with him upon the continent. But as Donald never met with Mr. Hay, the draught remains yet unpaid. . . .

They parted [at Loch Boisdale] with a resolution to meet again at a certain place by different roads; Donald MacLeod, O'Sullivan, and the boatmen walking away and leaving O'Neil only with the Prince. Donald MacLeod went south about, but all the men left him, one only excepted; upon which he was obliged to sink the boat, and to do the best he could to shift for himself.[1]

The Lyon in Mourning, i. 370.[2]

At nightfall [June 21] we [the Prince and O'Neil] marched towards Benbecula, being informed [Captain Carolina] Scott had ordered the militia to come and join him. At midnight we came to a hut [near Milton], where by good fortune we met with Miss Flora MacDonald, whom I formerly knew. I quitted the Prince at some distance from the hut, and went with a design to inform myself if the Independent Companies were to pass that way next day, as we had been informed. The young lady answered me —Not—and said that they would not pass till the day after. Then I told her I brought a friend to

[1] On July 5, 1746, Donald was taken prisoner in Benbecula.—*The Lyon*, i. 178.

[2] From Captain O'Neil's Journal.

see her, and she, with some emotion, asked me if it was the Prince. I answered her it was, and instantly brought him in. We then consulted on the imminent danger the Prince was in, and could think of a no more proper and safe expedient than to propose to Miss Flora to convey him to the Isle of Sky, where her mother lived. This seemed the more feasible, as the young lady's father, being captain of an Independent Company, would accord her a pass for herself and a servant to go visit her mother. The Prince assented, and immediately propos'd it to the young lady, to which she answered with the greatest respect and loyalty; but declined it, saying Sir Alexander MacDonald was too much her friend to be the instrument of his ruin. I endeavoured to obviate this by assuring her Sir Alexander was not in the country, and that she could with the greatest facility convey the Prince to her mother's, as she lived close by the waterside. I then remonstrated to her the honour and immortality that would redound to her by such a glorious action, and she at length acquiesc'd, after the Prince had told her the sense he would always retain of so conspicuous a service. She promised to acquaint us next day when things were ripe for execution, and we parted for the mountains of Coradale.

JUNE 21-31.

Ibid. i. 297.[1]

Miss Macdonald had gone from Sky to Milton

[1] From Flora Macdonald's narrative.

in South Uist in order to visit her brother-german, who had about that time taken up house. She had not been long there till Captain O'Neil . . . had become acquainted with her. When . . . Miss MacDonald had (with some difficulty) agreed to undertake the dangerous enterprize, she set out for Clanranald's house [Nunton], Saturday, June 21st, and at one of the fords was taken prisoner by a party of militia, she not having a passport. She demanded to whom they belonged? And finding by the answer that her step-father was then commander, she refused to give any answers till she should see their captain. So she and her servant,[1] Neil MacKechan, were prisoners all that night.

Her step-father, coming next day, being Sunday, she told him what she was about, upon which he granted a passport for herself, a man-servant (Neil MacKechan), and another woman, Bettie Burk, a good spinster, and whom he recommended as such in a letter to his wife at Armadale in Sky, as she had much lint to spin. . . . [He] set his step-daughter at liberty, who immediately made the best of her way to Clanranald's house, and acquainted the Lady Clanranald with the scheme. . . .

During Miss MacDonald's stay at Clanranald's house, which was till the Friday, June 27th, O'Neil went several times betwixt the Prince and Miss, in which interval another scheme was proposed, that

[1] Neil Maceachain or Mackechan was a schoolmaster in South Uist and tutor to Clanranald's family. *Cf.* Blaikie, *Itinerary*, 99.

the Prince should go under the care of a gentleman [1] to the northward, but that failing them, they behoved to have recourse to that agreed upon before; and accordingly Lady Clanranald, one Mrs. MacDonald, O'Neil, Miss Flora MacDonald, and her servant, Neil MacKechan, went to the place where the Prince was, being about eight Scotch miles. He was then in a very little house or hut, assisting in the roasting of his dinner, which consisted of the heart, liver, kidneys, etc., of a bullock or sheep, upon a wooden spit. O'Neil introduced his young preserver and the company, and she sat on the Prince's right hand and Lady Clanranald on his left. Here they all dined very heartily.

The party, alarmed by the approach of the militia, sailed across Loch Uskavagh, where, early in the morning of June 28, the Prince was experimentally metamorphosed into Betty Burke, Flora's 'good spinster.'

The Lyon in Mourning, i. 329.[2]

Lady Clanranald begged of his royal highness to try on his new female apparel, and after mutually passing some jocose drollery concerning the sute of cloaths, and the lady shedding some tears for the occasion, the said lady dresses up his royal highness in his new habit.[3] It was on purpose provided coarse,

[1] Hugh Macdonald of Baleshair.—*The Lyon*, i. 327, 372.

[2] From Alexander Macdonald's Journal.

[3] Neither Flora Macdonald nor Captain O'Neil mentions this incident, however.

as it was to be brooked by a gentlewoman's servant. The gown was of caligo, a light coloured quilted petticoat, a mantle of dun camlet made after the Irish fashion with a cap to cover his royal highness whole head and face, with a suitable head-dress, shoes, stockings, etc.

The Lyon in Mourning, i. 298.[1]

Soon after, a man came in a great hurry to Lady Clanranald, and acquainted her that Captain Ferguson with an advanced party of Campbell's men was at her house. . . . This obliged her to go home immediately, which accordingly she did, after taking leave of the Prince. . . .

O'Neil would gladly have staid with the Prince and shared in his distresses and dangers, but Miss could by no means be prevailed upon to agree to that proposal.

When all were gone[2] who were not to accompany the Prince in his voyage to the Isle of Sky, Miss MacDonald desired him to dress himself in his new attire, which was soon done, and at a proper time they removed their quarters and went near the water with their boat afloat, nigh at hand for readiness to embark in case of an alarm from the shore. Here they arrived very wet and wearied, and made a fire upon a rock to keep them somewhat warm till night. They were soon greatly alarmed by seeing

[1] From Flora Macdonald's narrative.

[2] O'Neil was taken prisoner shortly after this.—*The Lyon*, i. 374.

four wherries full of armed men making towards shore, which made them extinguish their fire quickly, and to conceal themselves amongst the heath. . . .

At eight o'clock, June 28th, Saturday, 1746, the Prince, Miss Flora MacDonald, Neil MacKechan, etc. [four boatmen],[1] set sail in a very clear evening from Benbecula to the Isle of Sky. . . .

They had not rowed from the shore above a league till the sea became rough, and at last tempestuous, and to entertain the company, the Prince sung several songs and seemed to be in good spirits.

In the passage Miss MacDonald fell asleep, and then the Prince carefully guarded her, lest in the darkness any of the men should chance to step upon her. She awaked in a surprize with some little bustle in the boat, and wondered what was the matter, etc.[2]

Next morning, Sunday, June 29th, the boatmen knew not where they were, having no compass, and the wind varying several times, it being then again calm. However, at last they made to the point of Waternish, in the west corner of Sky, where they thought to have landed, but found the place possessed by a body of forces, who had three boats or yawls near the shore. One on board one of the boats fired at them to make them bring-to; but they rowed away as fast as they could, being all

[1] Their names are given in *The Lyon*, iii. 22.

[2] *Cf. Ibid.* i. 111.

the chance they had to escape, because there were several ships of war within sight. They got into a creek, or rather clift of a rock, and there remained some short time to rest the men, who had been all night at work, and to get their dinners of what provisions they had along with them. As soon as they could they set forwards again, because, as the militia could not bring them to, they had sent up to alarm a little town not far off. It was very lucky for them that it was a calm then, for otherwise they must inevitably have perished or have been taken.

From hence they rowed on and landed at Kilbride, in Troternish, in the Isle of Sky, about twelve miles north from the above-mentioned point. There were also several parties of militia in the neighbourhood of Kilbride. Miss left the Prince in the boat and went with her servant, Neil MacKechan, to Mougstot [Monkstat], Sir Alexander MacDonald's house, and desired one of the servants to let Lady Margaret MacDonald know she was come to see her ladyship in her way to her mother's house. Lady Margaret knew her errand well enough by one Mrs. MacDonald,[1] who had gone a little before to apprize her of it.

As Mr. Alexander MacDonald of Kingsburgh was accidentally there, Lady Margaret desired him to conduct the Prince to his house; for it is to be remarked that Lady Margaret did not see the Prince in any shape. Kingsburgh sent a boy down to the

[1] Mrs. John Macdonald of Kirkibost. *Cf. The Lyon*, ii. 13, 17.

boat with instructions whither to conduct the Prince about a mile, and he (Kingsburgh) would be there ready to conduct him. Then Kingsburgh took some wine, etc., to refresh the Prince with, and set forwards for the place of rendez-vous, leaving Miss MacDonald with Lady Margaret at Mougstot, where the commanding officer of the parties in search of the Prince was, and who asked Miss whence she came, whither she was going, what news? etc., all which Miss answered as she thought most proper, and so as to prevent any discovery of what she had been engaged in.

Lady Margaret pressed Miss very much in presence of the officer to stay, telling her that she had promised to make some stay the first time she should happen to come there. But Miss desired to be excused at that time, because she wanted to see her mother, and to be at home in these troublesome times. Lady Margaret at last let her go, and she and Mrs. MacDonald above mentioned set forwards with Neil MacKechan and said Mrs. MacDonald's maid and her man-servant. They overtook the Prince and Kingsburgh. Mrs. MacDonald was very desirous to see the Prince's countenance; but as he went along he always turned away his face from Mrs. MacDonald to the opposite side whenever he perceived her endeavouring to stare him in the countenance. But she got several opportunities of seeing his face, though in disguise, which the maid could not help taking notice of, and said she

had never seen such an impudent-looked woman, and durst say she was either an Irish woman or else a man in a woman's dress. Miss MacDonald replied she was an Irish woman, for she had seen her before. The maid also took notice of the Prince's awkward way of managing the petticoats, and what long strides he took in walking along, etc., which obliged Miss MacDonald to desire Mrs. MacDonald (they being both on horseback) to step a little faster and leave those on foot. . . . So on they went, and the Prince and Kingsburgh went over the hills and travelled south-south-east till they arrived at Kingsburgh's house, which was about twelve o'clock at night, and they were very wet.

The Lyon in Mourning, i. 117.[1]

When the Prince came to Kingsburgh's house (Sunday, June 29th) . . . Mrs. MacDonald, not expecting to see her husband that night, was making ready to go to bed. One of her servant maids came and told her that Kingsburgh was come home and had brought some company with him. 'What company?' says Mrs. MacDonald. 'Milton's daughter, I believe,' says the maid, 'and some company with her.' 'Milton's daughter,' replies Mrs. MacDonald, 'is very welcome to come here with any company she pleases to bring. But you'll give my service to her, and tell her to make free

[1] From a collection of 'Remarks, etc., and particular sayings of some who were concerned in the Prince's preservation,' made by Bishop Forbes, and dated July 20, 1747.

with anything in the house ; for I am very sleepy, and cannot see her this night.' In a little, her own daughter came and told her in a surprize, 'O mother, my father has brought in a very odd, muckle, ill-shaken-up wife as ever I saw! I never saw the like of her, and he has gone into the hall with her.' She had scarce done with telling her tale when Kingsburgh came and desired his lady to fasten on her bucklings again, and to get some supper for him and the company he had brought with him. 'Pray, goodman,' says she, 'what company is this you have brought with you?' 'Why, goodwife,' said he, 'you shall know that in due time ; only make haste and get some supper in the meantime.' Mrs. MacDonald desired her daughter to go and fetch her the keys she had left in the hall. When the daughter came to the door of the hall, she started back, ran to her mother and told her she could not go in for the keys, for the muckle woman was walking up and down in the hall, and she was so frighted at seeing her that she could not have the courage to enter. Mrs. MacDonald went herself to get the keys, and I [Bishop Forbes] heard her more than once declare that upon looking in at the door she had not the courage to go forward. 'For,' said she, 'I saw such an odd muckle trallup of a carlin making lang wide steps through the hall, that I could not like her appearance at all.' Mrs. MacDonald called Kingsburgh, and very seriously begged to know what a lang, odd hussie was this he had brought to the

house. . . . 'Did you never see a woman before,' said he, 'good-wife? What frights you at seeing a woman? Pray, make haste, and get us some supper.' Kingsburgh would not go for the keys, and therefore his lady behov'd to go for them. When she entered the hall, the Prince happen'd to be sitting; but immediately he arose, went forward and saluted Mrs. MacDonald, who, feeling a long stiff beard, trembled to think that this behoved to be some distressed nobleman or gentleman in disguise, for she never dream'd it to be the Prince. . . . She very soon made out of the hall with her keys, never saying one word. Immediately she importun'd Kingsburgh to tell her who the person was, for that she was sure by the salute that it was some distressed gentleman. Kingsburgh smiled at the mention of the bearded kiss, and said, 'Why, my dear, it is the Prince. You have the honour to have him in your house.' 'The Prince,' cried she. 'O Lord, we are a' ruin'd and undone for ever! We will a' be hang'd now!' 'Hout, goodwife,' says the honest stout soul, 'we will die but ance; and if we are hanged for this, I am sure we die in a good cause. Pray, make no delay; go, get some supper. Fetch what is readiest. You have eggs and butter and cheese in the house, get them as quickly as possible.' 'Eggs and butter and cheese!' says Mrs. MacDonald, 'what a supper is that for a Prince?' 'O goodwife,' said he, 'little do you know how this good Prince has been living for some time past. These, I can

assure you, will be a feast to him. . . . Make haste, and see that you come to supper.' 'I come to supper!' says Mrs. MacDonald; 'how can I come to supper? I know not how to behave before Majesty.' 'You must come,' says Kingsburgh, 'for he will not eat a bit till he see you at the table; and you will find it no difficult matter to behave before him, so obliging and easy is he in his conversation.'

The Prince ate of our roasted eggs, some collops, plenty of bread and butter, etc., and (to use the words of Mrs. MacDonald) 'the deel a drap did he want in's weam of twa bottles of sma' beer. God do him good o't; for, well I wat, he had my blessing to gae down wi't.' After he had made a plentiful supper, he called for a dram; and when the bottle of brandy was brought, he said he would fill the glass for himself; 'for,' said he, 'I have learn'd in my skulking to take a hearty dram.' He filled up a bumper and drank it off to the happiness and prosperity of his landlord and landlady. Then, taking a crack'd and broken pipe out of his poutch, wrapt about with thread, he asked Kingsburgh if he could furnish him with some tobacco; for that he had learn'd likewise to smoke in his wanderings. Kingsburgh took from him the broken pipe and laid it carefully up with the brogs, and gave him a new, clean pipe and plenty of tobacco. . . .

After Miss Flora had got up [Monday, June 30], Mrs. MacDonald told her that she wanted much to have a lock of the Prince's hair, and that she be-

hoved to go into his room and get it for her. Miss Flora refused to do as she desired, because the Prince was not yet out of bed. 'What then,' said Mrs. MacDonald, 'no harm will happen to you. He is too good to harm you or any person. You must instantly go in and get me the lock.' Mrs. MacDonald, taking hold of Miss with one hand, knocked at the door of the room with the other. The Prince called, 'Who is there?' Mrs. MacDonald, opening the door, said, 'Sir, it is I, and I am importuneing Miss Flora to come in and get a lock of your hair to me, and she refuses to do it.' 'Pray,' said the Prince, 'desire Miss MacDonald to come in. What should make her afraid to come where I am?' When Miss came in, he begged her to sit down on a chair at the bedside, then laying his arms about her waist, and his head upon her lap, he desired her to cut out the lock with her own hands in token of future and more substantial favours. The one half of the lock Miss gave to Mrs. MacDonald, and the other she kept to herself.

The Lyon in Mourning, i. 302.[1]

Though the Prince was determined (from the observations and persuasion of Kingsburgh[2]) to cast off his disguise, yet it was necessary he should leave the house in the female dress he came in . . . and

[1] From Flora Macdonald's narrative.

[2] *Cf. The Lyon*, i. 75. Kingsburgh objected that the Prince's feminine airs were 'all so man-like.'

therefore in Kingsburgh's house Miss put on his cap for him.

The day [June 30] was far advanced before he set out, and when he arrived at a wood side (as the affair had been concerted), not far from Kingsburgh, he changed his apparel once more and put on the Highland dress Kingsburgh had furnished him with.[1] Then Kingsburgh sent a guide[2] with him to Portree, thro' all byways, while Miss MacDonald went thither on horseback by another road, thereby the better to gain intelligence and at the same time to prevent a discovery. . . .

Hither Kingsburgh[3] had sent to prepare a boat . . . to convey the Prince to the place where he wanted to be at. . . . Young MacLeod of Raaza came with Malcolm MacLeod to conduct the Prince over to the Isle of Raaza. The Prince was very uneasy he had not a MacDonald to conduct him still.

Ibid. ii. 21.[4]

The Prince no sooner entred [the inn at Portree] than he asked if a dram could be got there, the rain pouring down his cloaths, he having on a plaid without breeches, trews, or even philibeg. Before he sat down he got his dram, and then the company

[1] *Cf. The Lyon*, i. 76.

[2] A boy named Macqueen. Neil Maceachain was also with the Prince.—*Ibid.* ii. 21.

[3] Shortly after Charles's visit, Kingsburgh was made prisoner.—*Ibid.* i. 123, 126.

[4] From Captain Roy Macdonald's narrative.

desired him to shift and put on a dry shirt, Captain Roy MacDonald giving him his philabeg. The Prince refused to shift, as Miss Flora MacDonald was in the room; but the Captain and Neil MacKechan told him it was not a time to stand upon ceremonies, and prevailed upon him to put on a dry shirt. . . .

Before the Prince got on his coats, just in his shirt, he fell heartily to the meat, and made good use of his time, having travelled on foot from Kingsburgh. . . . He brought along with him four shirts, a cold hen, a bottle of brandy, and a lump of sugar, in one of his pockets; all which small stock of provisions (adding to them a bottle of whiskie he bought from the landlord of Portree)[1] he took along with him to the Island of Rasay. . . .

The Prince called for some tobacco that he might smoke a pipe before he should go off. . . . The Captain ordered the landlord to fetch a quarter of a pound, which he did in the scales, at fourpence halfpenny. The Prince gave a sixpence, but the landlord was desired by the Captain to bring in the change. The Prince smiled at the Captain's exactness, and would not be at the pain to take the three halfpence. The Captain insisted he should take them . . . opend the purse, and finding an empty partition, put the bawbees into it. . . .

The Prince now began to bid farewel to Miss MacDonald and Neil MacKechan . . . and turning

[1] Charles Macnab.—*The Lyon*, ii. 21.

to Miss, he said, 'I believe, Madam, I owe you a crown of borrowed money.' She told him it was only half-a-crown, which accordingly he paid her with thanks. He then saluted her, and expressed himself in these or the like words, 'For all that has happened I hope, Madam, we shall meet in St. James's yet.' He then bad farewel to honest MacKechan, who stayed that night with Miss MacDonald at Portree, and attended her next day to the place she intended to go to.[1] This MacKechan found the way afterwards to get off to France with the Prince.

When the Prince was about going off from Portree, he tied the bottle of whiskie to his belt at one side, and the bottle of brandy, the shirts, and the cold hen in a napkin at the other side. . . . In their way to the boat the Prince . . . taking the lump of sugar out of his pocket gave it to the Captain, and said, 'Pray, MacDonald, give this piece of sugar to *our lady* [Flora], for I am afraid she will get no sugar where she is going.' The Captain refused to take it, begging the Prince to keep it for his own use. . . . The Prince would not take it again. Upon which the Captain slipt it privately into Malcolm MacLeod's hands, desiring him to preserve it for the Prince's use. The Prince enjoined the Captain a strict silence in these or the like words, 'Tell nobody, no, not *our lady*, which way I am

[1] Flora Macdonald was taken prisoner a week or ten days later. —*The Lyon*, i. 303.

gone, for it is right that my course should not be known.'

The Prince then took leave of the Captain (about the dawning of the day, Tuesday, July 1st), the boat steering away for Rasay [Raasa].

JULY 1-4.

The Lyon in Mourning, i. 131.[1]

Early in the morning, July 1st, they[2] arrived at Glam, in Raaza, where they remained two days in a mean, low hut; and young Raaza [John Macleod] was the person that brought provisions to them, viz., a lamb and a kid in the nook of his plaid. . . .

The Prince began to be anxious to be out of Raaza, alleging the island to be too narrow and confin'd in its bounds for his purpose, and proposed setting out for Troternish in Sky. . . .

July 2d. About 7 o'clock at night he went on board the above mentioned small boat, attended by the young Laird of Raaza . . . and his brother Murdoch, Captain [Malcolm] MacLeod and the two boatmen, John MacKenzie and Donald MacFrier, who had been both out in his service, the one a sergeant and the other a private man. They had not well left the shore till the wind blew a hard gale. . . . The Prince would by no means hear of returning, and to divert the men from thinking

[1] From Captain Malcolm Macleod's narrative.

[2] On the voyage to Raasa the Prince was accompanied by Malcolm Macleod, Murdoch Macleod, and John Macleod.—*The Lyon*, i. 130, 302.

on the danger, he sung them a merry Highland song. About nine or ten o'clock the same night they landed at a place in Sky called Nicolson's Rock, near Scorobreck, in Troternish. . . . They went forwards to a cow-byre on the rock, about two miles from Scorobreck, a gentleman's house. In this byre the Prince took up his quarters, the whole company still attending him. Here they took some little refreshment of bread and cheese they had along with them, the cakes being mouldered down into very small crumble.

Captain MacLeod intreated the Prince to put on a dry shirt and to take some sleep; but he continued sitting in his wet cloaths, and did not then incline to sleep. However, at last he began to nap a little, and would frequently start in his sleep, look briskly up, and stare boldly in the face of every one of them as if he had been to fight them. . . .

About six or seven o'clock at night [July 3] the Prince, taking the little baggage in his hand, stept out of the byre, and desired the Captain [Malcolm Macleod] to follow him. . . .

The Prince proposed to pass for the Captain's servant, the better to conceal him, which was agreed to, and that he should be named Lewie Caw, there being of that name a young surgeon lad (who had been in the Prince's service) skulking at that time in Sky, where he had some relations. . . .

As they were marching along and talking of the fatigues the Prince was obliged to undergoe, he

said: 'MacLeod . . . I have had this philibeg on now for some days, and I find I do as well with it as any the best breeches I ever put on. I hope in God, MacLeod, to walk the streets of London with it yet.' . . . The Captain remarked it was proper they should pass the road that leads to the Laird of MacLeod's country in the night time for fear of parties spying them; which accordingly they did by break of day. And the Prince looking about him, and seeing nothing but hills all around them, said, 'I am sure, the Devil cannot find us out now.'

As they were coming near Strath, MacKinnon's country, the Captain suggested to the Prince that now . . . some shift behoved to be faln upon to disguise him more and more still. The Prince proposed blacking his face with some one thing or another. But the Captain was against that proposal. . . . The Prince then pulling off the periwig and putting it in his pocket, took out a dirty white napkin and desired the Captain to tye that about his head, and to bring it down upon his eyes and nose. He put the bonnet on above the napkin . . . MacLeod told him—this would not do yet, for that those who had ever seen him before would still discover his face for all the disguise he was in. The Prince said, 'This is an odd remarkable face I have got that nothing can disguise it.' . . .

When [July 4] they were near the place the Captain designed to set up at, he told the Prince that he had a sister that dwelt there, who was

married to John MacKinnon . . . and that he judged it advisable to go to his sister's house, advising the Prince in the meantime to sit at a little distance from the house. . . . Mr. MacLeod accordingly went to the house, where he found his sister, but her husband was not at home. After the usual compliments he told his sister that . . . he had no body along with him but one Lewie Caw . . . and that he was with him as his servant. Upon this Lewie Caw was called upon to come into the house, the place being called Ellagol, or Ellighuil, near Kilvory or Kilmaree . . . in Strath. When Lewie entered the house with the baggage on his back and the napkin about his head, he took off his bonnet, made a low bow, and sat at a distance from his master. The Captain's sister said there was something about that lad she liked unco well, and she could not help admiring his looks. When . . . bread and cheese, milk, etc., were set down before the master . . . sick Lewie made it shy, and refused to eat with his master, and alledged he knew better manners. But the master ordering him to come and take a share, he obeyed, still keeping off the bonnet. . . .

Malcolm importuned the Prince to go to bed and take some rest. The Prince then asked who would keep guard for fear of an alarm? Malcolm said he would do it himself. The Prince at last was prevailed upon to throw himself upon a bed, but would not strip. . . .

The Captain hearing that the landlord was coming towards home went out to meet him. After saluting him he asked if he saw these ships of war (pointing to them) that were hovering about upon the coast. Mr. MacKinnon said he saw them very well. 'What,' said MacLeod, 'if our Prince be on board one of them?' 'God forbid,' replied MacKinnon. . . . 'Well, then,' said MacLeod, 'he is here already. He is just now in your house. But when you go in you must be careful to take no notice of him at all. He passes for one Lewie Caw, my servant.' John faithfully promised to observe the direction, and thought he could perform it well enough. But he was no sooner entred the house than he could not hold his eyes from staring upon Lewie, and very soon he was forced to turn his face away from the Prince and to weep. In this house the Prince diverted himself with a young child, Neil MacKinnon, carrying him in his arms and singing to him, and said, 'I hope this child may be a captain in my service yet.'

The Prince and Malcolm . . . judged it advisable to desire John MacKinnon to hire a boat under a pretence of Malcolm MacLeod's only sailing to the continent, taking his promise in the meantime that he should not communicate anything of the matter at all to the old Laird [of Mackinnon] if he should chance to see him. Accordingly John went to hire the boat, and meeting with the old chiftain, he could not keep the matter from him.

The Laird told John that he should get a right boat and manage that matter well enough, and that he would instantly come to the place where the Prince was. John returned to the Prince and told him what he had done, and that old MacKinnon was coming to wait upon him. Upon this Malcolm represented to the Prince that . . . he should leave the Prince altogether to the management of old MacKinnon, who he was persuaded would be very careful of him, and exceedingly true and firm to the trust. . . . With much reluctancy the Prince at last agreed to the proposal, and upon old MacKinnon's coming to them they went directly to the boat, John MacKinnon going with them, who likewise accompanied the Prince and old MacKinnon to the continent [mainland].[1]

JULY 5-10.

The Lyon in Mourning, ii. 251.[2]

The Prince and his company arrived next morning [July 5] about 4 on the south side of Loch Nevis, near little Mallack [Mallaig], where they landed and lay three nights in the open air. The Laird [Mackinnon] and one of the men (John M'Guines) having gone the fourth day [July 8] to seek a cave to lie in, the Prince, with John MacKinnon and the

[1] Captain Malcolm Macleod left the Prince here and was made prisoner a few days later in Raasa.—*The Lyon*, i. 143.

[2] From materials collected by Mr. John Walkinshaw of London, put together by Mr. James Elphinstone of Edinburgh, and by him communicated to Bishop Forbes.

other 3 rowers, took to the boat, and rowed up Loch Nevis along the coast. As they turned a point they spied a boat tied to the rock, and five men with red crosses over their bonnets standing on the shore.[1] These immediately called out, demanding whence they came. John MacKinnon's people answered, 'From Slate,' whereupon they were ordered ashore. But not complying with this summons, the five red crosses jumped into their boat, and set 4 oars agoing in pursuit of them. . . . Upon this John [Mackinnon], taking an oar himself, plied it so manfully, and so animated his fellow-tuggers, that they out-rowed their bloodthirsty pursuers, turned quick round a point, and stood in towards the shore, which they had no sooner reached than the Prince sprung out of the boat, and attended by John and another, mounted nimbly to the top of the hill.[2]

On this eminence the Prince slept three hours, and then returning down the hill, he re-imbarked and crossed the loch to a little island[3] about a mile from Scotus's [Donald Macdonald's] house, where Clanranald, to whom he sent a message by John MacKinnon, then was. Upon John's return they repassed the loch and landed at Mallack, where having refreshed themselves, and met with Old

[1] The militia were quartered at Earnsaig, on Loch Nevis.—Blaikie, *Itinerary*, 55.

[2] Traditionally Aonach.—*Ibid.* 55.

[3] Eilean na Glaschoille, or Prince's Isle.—*Ibid.* 56.

M'Kinnon and servant, they set out for M'Donald of Moran's [Morar's] seat, which was about 7 or 8 miles distant. . . . A little before day [July 9] they arrived at Moran's borthe or hut, his house having been burned by Captain Fergusson. M'Kinnon went in alone, and Moran immediately getting out of bed, they both hasted to the door to introduce the strangers. This done, Moran's first care was to dismiss all the children and servants, keeping only his lady, who is Lochiel's daughter. She knowing the Prince at first sight, he saluted her, and the meeting was extremely tender, the lady bursting into a flood of tears. After having some refreshment of cold salmon warmed again, but no bread, the travellers left the borthe, and were conducted by Moran to a cave, where they slept ten hours, Moran being in the meantime dispatched in quest of young Clanranald. About noon Moran returned with accounts that Clanranald was not to be found.[1] So it was resolved to part with old M'Kinnon and Moran, and in the evening to set out with a boy for the house of Aneas or Angus M'Donald of Burghdale [Borradale], in Arisaig, which was the first house the Prince was in when he came to the continent. Here they arrived before day [July 10], found the house burned by Captain Fergusson, and Mr. M'Donald himself with two men at a borthe hard by. John M'Kinnon went in abruptly, desiring that unfortunate gentle-

[1] *Cf. The Lyon in Mourning*, iii. 184.

man to rise. . . . Then John asked him if he had heard anything of the Prince. Aneas answered, 'No.' . . . 'Well, then,' replies John, 'I have brought him here' . . . 'I am glad of it,' said Angus, 'and shall not fail to take care of him.'[1]

JULY 11—AUGUST 22.

The Lyon in Mourning, i. 333.[2]

Angus MacDonald . . . was obliged to remove with his royal highness to a hut in a neighbouring wood, where he refreshed himself the best way he could for three days [July 11-13].

Upon the [13th] of July his royal highness wrote a private letter . . . to Alexander MacDonald of Glenaladale, major to Clanranald in his royal highness's service, and who was well known to his royal highness before, commanding his attendance at the foresaid place to concert measures for his royal highness's safety. . . .

Immediately after sending off the above-mentioned express, his royal highness got an account of MacKinnon's being taken, which made it, he judged, proper for his royal highness to remove, upon the [13th], four miles to the eastward, to an inaccessible cave . . . accompanied by the said Angus MacDonald of Boradale and his son (Ranald, formerly

[1] Old Mackinnon and John Mackinnon were shortly after made prisoners.—*The Lyon*, ii. 253.

[2] From Captain Alexander Macdonald's Journal. I have emended his dates. *Cf.* Blaikie, *Itinerary*, 56.

lieutenant to Clanranald's own company), where he was to stay till Glenaladale should join him.

On the [15th] of July at night, Glenaladale met with the foresaid Angus MacDonald at the place they had formerly agreed upon, from whence he was conducted to his royal highness. On the [16th] Angus MacDonald got a letter from a son-in-law [Angus Maceachine] . . . representing how dangerous it was for them to stay any longer there, and making an offer of a place he had prepared. Accordingly Ranald MacDonald was sent to reconnoitre the place.

Upon the [17th] of July . . . his royal highness judged it proper[1] to remove . . . to the place prepared for him in the Glen of Moror . . . and sent Angus MacDonald to provide some necessaries. Upon his royal highness's arrival at his quarters, an information was brought that General Campbell, with six men-of-war, well furnished with troops, had anchored at Loch Naives [Nevis] . . . whereupon two men were sent . . . to observe General Campbell's motions. But before they had time to return, Angus MacDonald came back upon the [18th] early . . . and brought intelligence that Captain Scott had come to the lower part of Arisaig from Glengary's Moror.

His royal highness . . . finding upon this information that Clanranald's country was surrounded,[2]

[1] *Cf. The Lyon in Mourning*, iii. 377.

[2] The troops were placed in twenty-seven camps, from the head of Loch Eil to the head of Loch Hourn.—*Ibid.* ii. 364.

. . . sets out [July 18] accompanied only by Major MacDonald of Glenaladale and his brother (Lieutenant John MacDonald), and . . . John MacDonald, junior, Boradale's son, being obliged to part with Angus MacDonald of Boradale, and his son-in-law (Angus MacEachine) . . . and by twelve o'clock they came to the top of a hill in the outmost bounds of Arisaig called Scoorvuy [Sgur Mhuide], where having taken some refreshment it was thought proper to send Lieutenant John MacDonald (Glenaladale's brother) to Glenfinnin [Glenfinnan] . . . as well for intelligence as to bring two men Glenaladale kept still on guard there, and appointed them to meet him about ten o'clock at night on the top of a hill above Locharkaig in Lochiel's country, called Scoorwick Corrichan [Sgor nan Coireachan].

Lieutenant MacDonald being sent off, his royal highness set out, and by two o'clock came to the top of a neighbouring hill called Fruighvein [Fraochbheinn], where, observing some cattle in motion . . . Major MacDonald of Glenaladale . . . found this to be some of his own tenants removing with their cattle from the troops, who by this time, to the number of five or seven hundred, had come to the head of Locharkaig, in order to inclose his royal highness in Clanranald's country. . . . Major MacDonald of Glenaladale bringing back word . . . of what he had heard, they resolved to alter their course, and accordingly the Major sent . . . to call back Lieutenant MacDonald . . . and sent . . . for one Donald

Cameron of Glenpean . . . in order to learn . . . if he would undertake to guide his royal highness by their guards if possible. . . .

Soon after, the express sent to Glenfinnan . . . brought word that a hundred of the Argyle-shire militia had come to the very foot of the hill where his royal highness stayed; whereupon . . . as there was no time to wait for Donald Cameron . . . his royal highness . . . set out about sun-setting with his small retinue, and travelled pretty hard till about eleven o'clock at night, when, passing thro' a hollow between two hills, they observed a man coming down one of the hills . . . and as Providence would have it, found him to be their intended guide, Donald Cameron. . . . Upon this they pursued their way through roads almost impassable even in day light, and travelling all night they came at four o'clock in the morning upon the [19th] of July to the top of a hill in the Brae of Locharkaig, called Mamnyn-leallum [Mamnyn Callum], from whence they could . . . discern their enemy's camp, being not a mile distant. But being informed by the guide that that hill was searched the day before by the troops, they supposed there would not be a second search that day, and therefore they resolved to pass the day there.[1] . . .

His royal highness continued in the top of the said hill all that day, and about nine o'clock at night

[1] John Macdonald, Glenaladale's brother, rejoined the party here.

set out with his retinue to the northward, and by one o'clock in the morning of July [20th] came to a place called Corrinangaull [Coire-nan-gall]. . . .

Being pinched in provisions . . . they chused a fast place in the face of a hill at the head of Loch-qhuaigh [Loch Quoich], to which fastness they came about two o'clock in the morning, having only about a mile in walking to it. After taking an hour's rest there, the guide and Lieutenant MacDonald . . . were sent off to the hill above them to furnish some provisions . . . who came back to them about 3 o'clock, having got only two small cheeses, that would not be a morsel to the piece of them; and brought intelligence that about one hundred of the red-coats were marching up the other side of the hill his royal highness lodged in. . . . Notwithstanding . . . they stayed in the same place till about eight o'clock at night, when . . . climbing a steep hill called Drimachosi [Druim Cosaidh] to the top, they observed the fires of a camp directly in their front . . . at Glenqhosy [Glen Cosaidh]. However, being resolved to pass at any rate, they came so near without being observed as to hear them talk distinctly; and ascending the next hill . . . spied the fires of another camp at the very foot where they were to descend. But turning a little westward, they passed between two of their guards betwixt one and two o'clock in the morning of July [21st]. After travelling two miles, as they judged, beyond them, they came, betwixt two and three o'clock in the morning,

to a place on the Glenealg side of the head of [Loch Hourn] called Corriscorridill [Coire-Sgoir-adail], where, having chosen a fast place,[1] they took such refreshment as the exigency of the time afforded them, his royal highness covering a slice of cheese with oatmeal . . . and drank of the cold stream along with it.

His royal highness passed the whole day in the above place till about eight o'clock at night . . . and by three o'clock in the morning of July [22nd] they came to Glensheil in Seaforth's country. As they had run out entirely of their last supply of provisions, the Major and Lieutenant John MacDonald (Boradale's son) were sent off as well to furnish some as to provide a guide to conduct them to Pollieu [Poolewe] in Seaforth's country, where his royal highness had heard some French vessels to have been; and coming to the place where the inhabitants were, the Major bought some provisions, and made application to one of the inhabitants for a guide, which he undertook to provide. In the meantime . . . a Glengary man [Donald Macdonald][2] appears coming towards them, who that morning had been chased by the troops . . . from Glengary to Glensheil. Upon seeing this man the Major knew him . . . and conceiving him to be a trusty fellow, resolved to make use of him. . . .

About seven o'clock at night, the man who undertook to furnish the guide was seen coming to . . .

[1] *Cf. The Lyon*, iii. 378.

[2] *Ibid.* iii. 378.

the Major, who . . . found that the only French ship that had been there was gone off, and that no guide could be procured. . . .

Immediately Glenaladale returned to the Prince and told him what had passed; whereupon it was resolved to change their course, and accordingly the Glengary man was introduced to his royal highness, and most chearfully undertook to guide him. And, preparing to pursue their journey, they set out late at night, and going on about a quarter of a mile, they stopt a little, which was occasioned by the Major's . . . missing his purse, wherein he had another purse of gold he had got the charge of from his royal highness in order to defray his charges, and which he had forgot when they had been preparing for their journey. . . . In the midst of his surprize, he reflected it might have been taken away by a little boy sent by their landlord [at Glenshiel], Gilchrist MacCrath, with a compliment of milk. . . . Accordingly the Major and Lieutenant MacDonald went all the way to MacCrath's house, which was more than a mile off . . . to oblige the boy to restore the purse, which he did to a trifle. They returned by a different road from what they had gone before, and came to the Prince, who was in great pain for them, fearing they might have been intercepted by an officer and two private men that pass'd under arms by the place where his royal highness was in their absence. . . .

Having once more got together, his royal highness

and his small retinue set out, and travelling all the remainder of the night, came early in the morning of July [23rd] to a hill-side above Strathcluaine [Strathclunie], and chusing a fast place, took some rest till towards three o'clock afternoon, when they set out, and travelling by a hill-side about a mile from the place they rested in, they heard the firing of small arms in the hill above them. . . . They steered their course northward, and mounting up a high hill betwixt the Braes of Glenmoriston and Strathglass, came late at night to the very top of it . . . the only shelter his royal highness could have being an open cave, where he could neither lean nor sleep, being wet to the skin . . . and having no fuel to make a fire, the only method he had of warming himself was smoking a pipe.

About three o'clock in the morning of July [24th] the Lieutenant (Glenaladale's brother) and the guide (the providential Glengary man) were sent in quest of some trusty people . . . to conduct his royal highness to Pollieu, and were appointed to return to the top of a neighbouring hill, where his royal highness and the remainder of his retinue were to meet them. Accordingly, about five o'clock in the morning his royal highness set out, and by seven came to the top of that hill, where meeting with the guide on his return, he told he had found out his intended trustees, who had given him directions . . . to repair into a cave in the Brae of Glenmoriston called Coiraghoth [Coiredhogha], where they promised

to come at an appointed hour with a refreshment. Accordingly his royal highness set out, and by the time appointed came to the place, and meeting with these few friends (who upon sight knew his royal highness, having formerly served in his army), they conducted him to the grotto, where he was refreshed with such chear as the exigency of the time afforded; and making a bed for him, his royal highness was lulled asleep with the sweet murmurs of the finest purling stream that could be, running by his bedside, within the grotto, in which romantic habitation[1] his royal highness pass'd three days, at the end of which he was so well refreshed that he thought himself able to encounter any hardships.

Having time in that space to provide some necessaries and to gather intelligence about the enemy's motions, they removed, on the [28th] of [July], into a place within two miles of them, called Coirmheadhain [Coire Mheadhoin], where they took up their habitation in a grotto no less romantic than the former. . . . In this place he resided four days; but, being informed that one Campbell (factor to Seaforth in Kintale, and captain at that time of a company of militia) had . . . pitched his camp within four miles of them, it was then resolved his royal highness should remove his quarters. Accordingly, upon the [1st] of August, he set out to the northward, and by break of day upon the [2nd],

[1] A picture and ground-plan of the cave are in Blaikie, *Itinerary*, 60, 61.

came in upon the Brae of the Chisholm's country, called Strathglass, having left one of their party behind in the Brae of Glenmoriston to wait Campbell's motions. That . . . friend brought word that they needed not be afraid for that night. Upon this his royal highness repaired to a neighbouring sheally hut. . . . They remained in this place two days. . . .

Early in the morning of August [4th], his royal highness set out to the northward so far on his way to Pollieu in case of any encouragement from that quarter, and travelling a muir road unfrequented, came that night into another sheally hut, about . . . five or six miles from where they had set out. There they remained all night, and set out about two o'clock in the morning of August [5th], and came about twelve o'clock into a place called Glencanna [Glencannich], where, passing the remainder of the day in a wood, they repaired late at night to a neighbouring village, where they stayed only the dead of night.

About two o'clock in the morning of August [6th] they set out and climbed a hill [Beinn Acharain] on the northmost side of Glencanna, where they pass'd the day and sent off two of their party to furnish a fresh supply of provisions. At night they repaired into a neighbouring sheally hut, where they remained two days, expecting the return of the express sent off to Pollieu [on August 4th], who . . . brought back word that the only French ship that had come there had sailed off again, and that a couple of gentlemen

who had come on board of her had actually landed, and were making . . . for Lochiel's country in search of the Prince. He . . . resolved to return towards the place from whence he had come, in order to meet with them.

August [8th], at night, they set out cross the water of Canna [Cannich] back again, and . . . came by two o'clock in the morning [August 9th] to a place called Fassanacoill [Fasnakyle] in Strathglass; and . . . it was resolved (before his royal highness should venture any further) to send some spies to the Braes of Glengary and Lochiel's country. . . .

They waited the return of the spies, who brought notice that the forces had returned to their camp.[1] Whereupon his royal highness set out by six o'clock in the morning of August [12th] . . . and came by ten o'clock to the Braes of Glenmoriston, and, passing the day on the top of a hill, they set out at night, and had not travelled above a mile when they learned that a strong party had been detached to the Braes of Glengary in quest of the Prince. Upon this it was resolved to proceed no further . . . and then they repaired into a neighbouring sheally hut, where they passed the remainder of the night.

Upon August [13th], in the morning, three expresses were sent off—two to Lochiel's country,

[1] The camp at Fort Augustus was broken up on August 13, and the Argyleshire militia were disbanded at Inveraray about August 17.—*Scots Magazine*, 1746, p. 394.

Locharkaig, who were to seek out Cluns Cameron, and to tell him from Major MacDonald of Glenaladale that he wanted to meet with him in a convenient place; and the third express was to return at the Brae of Glengary, and to bring back word if the party they were informed of the night before had returned to their camp or not. . . .

Accordingly the expresses were sent off, and, upon the [14th], the one that was to return brought word that the road was clear. Whereupon the Prince and his small party, being then ten in number . . . came late at night to the Brae of Glengary . . . [and] the night being very dark, they were obliged to pass it on the side of a hill, without any cover, though it rained excessively.

In the morning of August [15th] the Prince set out, the rain still continuing very heavy, and, travelling six miles cross hills and muirs, came about ten o'clock to the Brae of a place called Achnas[ua]l. There they pass'd the day in a most inconvenient habitation, it raining as heavy within as without it. Towards the afternoon . . . the expresses came to them, and brought word to the Major that Cameron of Cluns . . . would come to them next morning. . . . Lochgary joined them that night, after which they took their rest.

About ten o'clock in the morning of August [16th], Cluns Cameron joined them, and . . . conducted them into a wood at the foot of Locharkaig, where they lodged all night, etc.

Timeous in the morning of August [17th], an express was sent off to Lochiel to command his attendance . . . who brought word that Lochiel, not being recovered of his wounds, and being at too great a distance, could not come, but he sent his brother, Dr. Cameron, to make his apology, who came to his royal highness upon August [20th].

August [21st]. The Prince set out with his attendants, and travelling about a mile, came to a wood opposite to Achnacary called Torramhuilt or Torvaulit; Dr. Cameron and Lochgary having parted with his royal highness about three or four o'clock in the afternoon to avoid suspicion, as did also Cluns Cameron, how soon he had conducted his royal highness into this last habitation.[1]

AUGUST 23—SEPTEMBER 19.

The Lyon in Mourning, i. 99.[2]

We continued in this wood and that over against Achnacarie (having three huts in different places to which we removed by turns). . . . We were [August 23?] not half an hour in the hut which Cluns had built for his family (after his house was burnt), when a child of six years old went out and returned in haste to tell that she saw a great body of soldiers. . . . We left the hut and marched to a small hill above the wood, from whence we could see a great way up Glen-

[1] While at Torvault, the Prince received the two French officers who had landed at Poolewe. *Cf. The Lyon*, i. 98, 349; iii. 102.

[2] From Mr. John Cameron's Journal. He had joined the Prince with Dr. Cameron on August 20 at Loch Arkaig.

kingie and not be discovered. We got there unobserved, which was owing to the cover of the wood. The Prince examined all our guns and . . . sent Cluns and me to take a narrow view of the party, and resolved that night to goe to the top of Mullantagart [Meall-an-Tagraidh], a very high mountain in the Braes of Glenkengie, and to send one to us to know what we discover'd or were informed of. When we came to the Strath of Cluns, the women told us that the party was of Lord Loudon's regiment, consisting of about 200 men, commanded by one Captain Grant, son to Grant of Knockando in Strathspey.[1] . . . In the evening Cluns's son came to us from the Prince, with whom we returned, told him as we were informed, and brought some whiskie, bread, and cheese. This was about 12 at night. He was on the side of the mountain, without fire or any covering. We persuaded him to take a hearty dram and made a fire, which we durst not keep above half an hour lest it should be seen by the people in the neighbourhood. By daylight [August 24?] we went to the top of the mountain, where we continued till eight in the evening without the least cover, and durst not rise out of our seats. The Prince slept all the forenoon in his plaid and wet hose, altho' it was an excessive cold day, made more so by several showers of hail. From thence we

[1] After the camp at Fort Augustus was broken up, Lord Loudon was left there with his regiment and some companies of militia.—*Scots Magazine*, 1746, p. 394.

went that night to the Strath of Glenkengie, killed a cow, and lived merrily for some days. From that we went [August 26?] to the Braes of Achnacarie. The Water of Arkeg in crossing came up to our haunches. The Prince in that condition lay that night and next day in open air, and though his cloaths were wet, he did not suffer the least in his health.

In a day or two after, Lochgary and Dr. Cameron return'd [August 27] from Lochiel . . . and told it was Lochiel's opinion and theirs, that the Prince would be safe where he (Lochiel) was skulking. This pleased him much, and the next night [August 28] he set out with Lochgary, the Doctor and Sandy (Cluns's son), myself and three servants.[1] We travell'd in the night and slept all day, till we came to Lochiel, who was then in the hills betwixt the Braes of Badenoch and Athol.

The Lyon in Mourning, iii, 39.[2]

The Prince lay the first night [August 29] at Corineuir [Coire an Iubhair Mór] at the foot of Benalder after his coming to Badenoch, from which he was conducted next day [August 30] to Mellanmuir [Mealan Odhar?] in Benalder, a sheiling of a very narrow compass where Locheil with M'Pherson of Breakachie, Allan Cameron, his (*i.e.* Lochiel's) principal servant, and two servants of Cluny were

[1] *Cf. The Lyon*, iii. 101.

[2] From information given by Macpherson of Cluny's brother.

at the time. . . . Locheil, tho' lame, made the best of his way to meet his Royal Highness without, who . . . received him very graciously. . . . However . . . when the other would have kneeld at his coming up to him, he sad, 'Oh! no, my dear Locheil,' claping him on the shoulder, 'you don't know who may be looking from the tops of yonder hills. . . .' Locheil then ushered him into his habitation, which was indeed but a very poor one as to the accomodation and make. . . .

There was plenty of mutton newly killed, and an anker of whiskie of twenty Scotch pints, with some good beef sassers made the year before, and plenty of butter and cheese, and besides, a large well cured bacon ham. . . . Upon his entry he took a hearty dram, which he pretty often called for thereafter to drink his friends healths; and when there were some minch'd collops dress'd with butter for him in a large sawce pan . . . he eat heartily, and said with a very chearful and lively countenance, 'Now, gentlemen, I leive like a Prince.' . . . In two days after . . . Cluny came [September 1] to 'em there from Achnicarry, and . . . when he wou'd have kneeled, his Royal Highness took and prevented him, and kissed him, as if he had been an equal, and soon after said, 'I 'm sorry, Cluny, you and your regiment were not at Culloden. I did not hear till of very late that you was so near to have come up with us that day.'

Upon the next day [September 2] after Cluny's

coming, he thought it was time to move the quarters, and brought the Prince about two miles further into Benalder, to a little sheill called Uiskchilra [Allt a Chaoil Reidhe], where the hut or bothie was superlatively bad and smockie. Yet his Royal Highness took with everything. Here he remained for two or three nights, and then from thence removed [September 5] to a very romantic comical habitation made out for him by Cluny, at two miles farther distance into Benalder, called the Cage. It was really a curiosity, and can scarcely be described to perfection. 'Twas situate in the face of a very rough, high, rockie mountain called Letternilichk [Litir-na-lic], which is still a part of Benalder, full of great stones and crevices and some scattered wood interspersed. The habitation called the *Cage*, in the face of that mountain, was within a small thick bush of wood. There were first some rows of trees laid down in order to level a floor for the habitation; and as the place was steep, this rais'd the lower side to equall height with the other; and these trees, in the way of jests or planks, were entirely well levelled with earth and gravel. There were betwixt the trees, growing naturally on their own roots, some stakes fixed in the earth, which with the trees were interwoven with ropes made of heath and birch twigs all to the top of the Cage, it being of a round or rather oval shape, and the whole thatched and covered over with foge. This whole fabrick hung as it were by a large tree, which reclined from the one end all

along the roof to the other, and which gave it the name of the Cage; and by chance there happen'd to be two stones at a small distance from other in the side next the precipice, resembling the pillars of a bosom chimney, and here was the fire placed. The smock had its vent out there, all along a very stonny plat of the rock, which and the smock were all together so much of a colour that any one coud make no difference in the clearest day, the smock and stones by and through which it pass'd being of such true and real resemblance. The Cage was no larger than to contain six or seven persons, four of which number were frequently employed in playing at cards, one idle looking on, one becking, and another firing bread and cooking.[1]

Here his Royal Highness remained till he was acquainted that the shipping for receiving and transporting him to France was arrived.[2] . . . Alexander M'Pherson . . . brought the express directly to the Cage . . . about one in the morning the thirteenth of September, on which minute his Royal Highness began his journey for the shipping, and against daylight arrived at his old quarters in Uiskchilra[3] . . . where he remain'd till near night, and then set off, and was by daylight the 14th at Corvoy [Coir-a-Mhaighe], where he sleep'd some time.

[1] *Cf.* a description of the Cage, quoted in Blaikie, *Itinerary*, 69.

[2] Two French ships arrived at Lochnanuagh on September 6.—*Ibid.* 69.

[3] Breakachie here brought John Roy Stewart to the Prince.

Upon his being refresh'd with sleep, he being at a sufficient distance from any country, did spend the day by diverting himself and his company with throwing up of bonnets in the air, and shuting at 'em . . . in which diversion his Royal Highness by far exceeded; and in the evening of the fourteenth he set forward and went on as far as Uisknifichit [Uisge-nam-Fichead], on the confines of Glenroy . . . in which last place he refresh'd himself some hours with sleep; and before it was daylight got over Glenroy the fifteenth, and kept themselves private all day. . . .

After the morning of the 16th, the Prince arrived in Achnicarry, Locheil's seat, where he was as ill off as anywhere else for accommodation, as the enemy had brunt and demolished all there. All the sixteenth he stayed there, and set out at night and arrived the seventeenth at a place called Glencamger [Camgharaidh], in the head of Locharkaig, where he found Cluny and Doctor Cameron, who had prepared for him, expecting him. . . . And when he and his company arrived, there was a cow kill'd, on which bannock and beef his royal highnes with his whole retinue were regalled and feasted plentifully that night. On the eighteenth he set out from Glencamger with daylight, and upon the nineteenth arrived at the shipping, what was extant of the Glencamger bonnacks and beef having been all the provisions till then.

SEPTEMBER 20-29.

Lockhart Papers, ii. 562.

The P[rince] being now informed that the French ships were in Lochnanuagh waiting for him, set out immediately, accompanied by Lochiel, Lochgarie, John Roy Stewart, etc., and going on board the *Happy*,[1] privateer of St. Maloes, she immediately set sail the twentieth of September, and escaping all the Government's warships, and being in her way happily favoured by a fog, he arrived safely in France; an unparallel'd instance, upon a review of all the circumstances of this escape, of a very particular Providence interesting itself in his behalf. For what wise end Heaven has thus dissapointed and yet preserved this noble prince, and what future scenes the history of his life may display, time only can tell; yet something very remarkable still seems waiting him and this poor country also. May God grant a happy issue.

Scots Magazine, 1749, p. 639.

They landed safely at Roscou [Roscoff], near three leagues west of Morlaix, on the 29th of the same month, after a pleasant voyage; tho' narrowly escaping Adm[iral] Lestock's squadron, which was then on the coast of Bretagne [Brittany].

OCTOBER 1746. *Lockhart Papers*, ii. 565.

Intelligence was no sooner brought to Versailles

[1] *Cf.* Blaikie, *Itinerary*, 102.

that the young Chevalier de S^t^ George was landed . . . than the Castle of S^t^ Antoine was ordered to be prepared for his reception, and his brother,[1] accompanied by several young noblemen, went to meet him, and conducted him directly to Versailles, he not chusing to stop at Paris for any refreshment. The King of France, Louis the fifteenth, immediately quitting the Council, which was sitting on affairs of moment, went to receive him, and as he advanced, took him in his arms with every mark of tender affection, and said, '*Mon très cher Prince, je rends grace au Ciel qui me donne le plaisir extrême de vous voir arrivé en bonne santé après tant de fatigues et de dangers. Vous avez fait voir que toutes les grandes qualités des Héros et des Philosophes se trouvent unies en vous ; et j'espere qu'un de ces jours vous recevrez la recompense d'un merite si extraordinaire.*'

After a quarter of an hour's conversation with the King, the young Chevalier passed to the apartments of the Queen, who welcomed him with every demonstration of good will and satisfaction ; and as he quitted the palace, the whole Court crowded about him to pay their compliments, and testified as much joy as if the Dauphin himself had been engaged in the same dangerous expedition and returned in safety. . . .

The little visit he had made at Versailles being as it were *incog.*, it was necessary he should pay his

[1] A letter from Charles to his brother, announcing his arrival, is in Mahon, *The Forty-Five*, 156.

compliments in form and in the character his father had conferred upon him, which was that of Prince-Regent of England, Scotland, and Ireland; accordingly about ten days after, he set out from the Castle of S^{t} Antoine in the following manner. In the first coach were the Lords Ogilvy and Elcho, the venerable Glenbucket, and Mr. Kelly, the young Chevalier's secretary. In the second were the young Chevalier himself, Lord Lewis Gordon, and the eldest Locheil as master of the horse; two pages richly dressed lolled on the boot, and ten footmen, in the livery of the character assumed by the young Chevalier, walked on each side. In the third coach were four gentlemen of his bed chamber, one of whom, called Captain Stafford, had some time since been a prisoner in Newgate. The young Locheil with several gentlemen followed on horseback, making a grand appearance altogether, but the young Chevalier himself took off my attention from every thing besides. I shall say nothing of his person, and only tell you that he did not entirely trust to the graces it received from nature for attracting admiration, for his dress had in it, I thought, somewhat of uncommon elegance. His coat was rose-coloured velvet embroidered with silver and lined with silver tissue; his waistcoat was a rich gold brocade, with a spangled fringe set on in scollops. The cockade in his hat, and the buckles of his shoes were diamonds; the George which he wore at his bosom, and the order of S^{t}

Andrew which he wore also, tied by a piece of green ribbon to one of the buttons of his waistcoat, were prodigiously illustrated with large brilliants; in short, he glittered all over like the star which they tell you appeared at his nativity.

CONCLUSION

In its external aspect the Rising was a farther and the final expression of the 'Ancient League,' that traditional Franco-Scottish *entente* which Scotland had invited against the English Plantagenets, which the Covenanters had faintly endeavoured to revive against the English Stuarts, and since the Revolution, the Jacobites had courted against the English Guelphs. Prince Charles's flattering reception at Versailles gave hopes of its continuance. But two years later, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle bound France to abandon her championship of the exiled Stuarts. In December 1748 Prince Charles was ejected from French territory ; and that event, while it removed the main prop on which the fabric of his party's hopes had rested, terminated a hostile combination, which, since the late thirteenth century, had threatened the solidarity of the British realm.

In another direction the Rising marked off the past of Scotland from her future. During Charles's wanderings after Culloden his loyal-hearted followers had been given up to Cumberland's vengeance. Their attempt to rally at Ruthven on April 19, 1746, had been followed by an equally abortive effort at Muirlaggan on May 8. Thereafter the Highlanders scattered to their homes. Punitive expeditions swept their glens. English gaols were filled with Jacobite prisoners, and many—Lords Lovat, Balmerino and Kilmarnock among them —were condemned to the scaffold. The vengeance exacted expressed the Government's measure of the danger which

had confronted it. Within the bounds of Britain the Highlands had maintained an independent and oftentimes threatening Celticism. Centuries before, English influence and institutions had found a footing in, and had spread over the Lowlands of Scotland. The Highlands now experienced a similar fate. Peremptorily and conclusively the Anglicising of the Clan districts was pushed forward. Of the methods employed and the results they secured let one speak, who, born less than a generation after the Rising, is a link between it and the new Scotland which it ushered in[1]:—

'There is no European nation, which, within the course of half a century, or little more, has undergone so complete a change as this kingdom of Scotland. The effects of the insurrection of 1745—the destruction of the patriarchal power of the Highland chiefs—the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions of the Lowland nobility and barons—the total eradication of the Jacobite party, which, averse to intermingle with the English, or adopt their customs, long continued to pride themselves upon maintaining ancient Scottish manners and customs, commenced this innovation. The gradual influx of wealth, and extension of commerce, have since united to render the present people of Scotland a class of beings as different from their grandfathers, as the existing English are from those of Queen Elizabeth's time. . . . But the change, though steadily and rapidly progressive, has, nevertheless, been gradual; and, like those who drift down the stream of a deep and smooth river, we are not aware of the progress we have made until we fix our eye on the now-distant point from which we have been drifted. Such of the present generation as can recollect the last twenty or twenty-five years of the eighteenth century, will be fully sensible of the truth of this statement; especially if their acquaintance and connexions lay among those who, in my younger time, were facetiously called "folks of the old leaven," who still cherished a linger-

[1] Sir Walter Scott (b. 1771), *Waverley*, chap. xlii.

ing, though hopeless attachment, to the house of Stuart. This race has now almost entirely vanished from the land, and with it, doubtless, much absurd political prejudice; but also, many living examples of singular and disinterested attachment to the principles of loyalty which they received from their fathers, and of old Scottish faith, hospitality, worth, and honour.'

APPENDIX

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LITERATURE relating to Jacobite History, 1689-1788, and in particular to the Jacobite Risings.

NOTE.—In this Bibliography Section I. includes works which are either contemporary or contain collections and Appendices of original materials. Section II. is devoted to contemporary materials which are still in manuscript or have been but partially edited. Section III. contains non-contemporary works.

Throughout the Bibliography works are, whenever possible, entered under their *author's* name. Collections of original documents which have been edited for Clubs, Societies, etc., are entered under their *subject*, except when the miscellaneous nature of their contents precludes distinct classification, in which case each work is entered under its *editor's* name. Anonymous works are classified under their *subject.*

At the end of the volume is an Index in which the works contained in the several sections of the Bibliography are classified under their *subjects.*

Such works as may be familiar rather by their title than from association with their author's or editor's name—*e.g. The Lyon in Mourning; Jacobite Memoirs*—are entered in the Index under their *title,* with a reference to their place in the Bibliography.

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Ker acted as a government spy upon the Jacobites.

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Chap. xlviii. has an account of the Chevalier de St. George, whom Keysler saw at Rome about 1730.

Kilmarnock, Earl of. The life of William, Earl of Kilmarnock, from the time of his birth to that of his execution ; with the proceedings against him, his behaviour on and after his trial. Lond. 1746.

——— Memoirs of the lives and families of the Lords Kilmarnock, Cromertie, and Balmerino. Lond. 1746.

King, William. Political and literary anecdotes of his own times. Lond. 1819.

An unfavourable criticism of Prince Charles, whom King met in 1750, *is on p.* 196. *The book details facts and gossip regarding the Jacobite party after the* '45.

Klopp, Onno. Der Fall des Hauses Stuart und die Succession des Hauses Hannover in Gross-Britannien. 14 vols. Wien. 1875-88.

Covers the period 1660-1714, *and contains original documents from the Vienna archives.*

——— Correspondance de Leibniz avec l'Electrice Sophie. 3 vols. Hannover. 1874.

Klose, Carl L. Memoirs of Prince Charles Stuart, Count of Albany. 2 vols. Lond. 1845.

The Appendices contain a letter of the Chevalier de St. George to one of his Scottish adherents, dated March 11, 1743; *extracts from contemporary pamphlets; and 'Memoirs of Cardinal York.'*

Lang, Andrew. The Highlands of Scotland in 1750. Edin. and Lond. 1898.

This Report was written, Mr. Lang conjectures, by Bruce, who was employed by the Government to survey the Highlands after the '45. *The writer offers also 'some general observations concerning the late Rebellion,' and proposes remedial measures.*

Layer, Christopher. A faithful account of the life of Christopher Layer, from his birth to his execution for High Treason. Interspers'd with several original papers. By a gentleman of Norwich, his schoolfellow. Lond. 1723.

——— A Report from the Committee appointed by order of the House of Commons to examine Christopher Layer and others, reported on the first of March 1722. Lond. 1722.

Layer visited the Chevalier de St. George in 1721 *to*

propound a scheme for his restoration. Vide *art.* '*Layer, Christopher,*' *in* '*Dict. Nat. Biography.*'

Leslie, Charles. A letter from Mr Lesly to a Member of Parliament in London. [Lond. 1714.]

Contains an account of the Chevalier de St. George, and asserts his toleration towards the Protestant Church of England.

Loch Alsh. A true and particular account of the engagement at Lochilsh, the 29th August 1722, betwixt Captain Macneil commanding a detachment of Colonel Kirk's regiment, and the Mackenzies with some others of Seaforth's men. Edin. 1722.

Lockhart, George. Memoirs concerning the affairs of Scotland from Queen Anne's accession to May 1707. Lond. 1714.

On pp. 341 et seq. *Lockhart describes the negotiations with the Chevalier de St. George which followed the Act of Union.*

——— Lockhart papers. 2 vols. Lond. 1817.

Vol. i. contains Lockhart's narrative of Scottish affairs, 1702-15. *Vol. ii. has Lockhart's narrative of public affairs and correspondence with the Chevalier de St. George,* 1716-28; '*Journals and memoirs of the Young Pretender's expedition in* 1745'; *a narrative of the* '45 *by a Clanranald Macdonald; an* '*Account of events at Inverness and Culloden*' *in* 1746; *an* '*Account of the Young Pretender's escape*' *by one of his officers; and an* '*Account of what happened to the Young Pretender after his arrival in France.*'

Logan, William. A letter to an English Member of Parliament from a gentleman in Scotland, concerning superiorities, wards, and other remains of the feudal law, and clanships, containing hints for reforming the Highlands. [Lond.] 1721.

Lovat, Lord. A candid and impartial account of the behaviour of Simon Lord Lovat, from the time his death-warrant was delivered, to the day of his execution. Lond. 1747.

——— An account of the pedigree and actions of Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, from his birth, to the time of his being taken by Captain Miller, and his imprisonment for aiding the rebels against George II. Dublin. 1747.

——— A free examination of a modern romance, intitled, Memoirs of the life of Lord Lovat. Lond. 1746.

——— Genuine memoirs of the life of Lord Fraser of Lovat. Lond. 1746.

——— Memoirs of the life of Lord Lovat. Lond. 1746.

——— Memoirs of the life of Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat. Edin. 1767.

——— Memoirs of the life of Simon, Lord Lovat; written by himself in the French language, and now first translated from the original manuscript. Lond. 1797.

——— A narrative of the plot against Her Majesty, carried on by Captain Simon Fraser and others. Lond. 1704.

——— The whole proceedings in the House of Peers upon the impeachment against Simon Lord Lovat, for High Treason. Lond. 1747.

Luttrell, Narcissus. A brief historical relation of State affairs from September 1678 to April 1714. 6 vols. Oxford. 1857.

Macallester, Oliver, A series of letters discovering the scheme projected by France in MDCCLIX. for an intended invasion upon England. Lond. 1767.

Macdonald, Alexander. An interesting narrative of the wanderings of Prince Charles Stuart and Miss Flora Macdonald, from the original MSS. Edin. 1839.

Macdonald, Archibald. Life of Archibald Macdonald of Barrisdale, and many particulars relating to the Rebellion, and the proceedings on his trial before the Court of Justiciary. Lond. 1754.

Macdonald, Charles. Moidart: or, Among the Clanranalds. Oban. 1889.

On pp. 171-74 *is* '*Part of a roll of men upon Clanranald's mainland estates, with their arms; made up in the year* 1745.'

Macdonald, John. A true and real state of Prince Charles Stuart's miraculous escape after the battle of Culloden.

This contemporary narrative is printed in '*Blackwood's Magazine*,' *October* 1873; '*The Royalist*,' *vol. iii.* 101; '*The Lyon in Mourning*,' *vol. iii.* 377.

Macdonell, John. The memoirs of Colonel John Macdonell.

In '*Canadian Magazine*,' 1828. *Macdonell arrived in Scotland shortly after Culloden*, 1746.

Maceachain, Neil. Narrative.

In '*New Monthly Magazine*,' 1840, *vol. lx.* 323-43. *Extracts from it are in Blaikie*, '*Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward*,' 98-102. *Maceachain accompanied Prince Charles to Skye and followed him to France.*

Mackay, Major-General Hugh. Memoirs of the war carried on in Scotland and Ireland, 1689-91. With an Appendix of original papers. Bannatyne Club. Edin. 1833.

Mackay, William. Urquhart and Glenmoriston: olden times in a Highland parish. Inverness. 1893.

On pp. 494-98 *are two lists* (*from the Castle Grant MSS.*) *of those in Urquhart and Glenmoriston who were* '*out*' *in the* '45.

Mackintosh, Charles Fraser-. Letters of two centuries. Inverness. 1890.

On p. 223 *is a curious letter describing Prince Charles's situation at Inverness in April* 1746.

Macky, John. Memoirs of the secret services of J. Macky. Lond. 1733.

Macky was employed to spy upon the Jacobites. The bulk of the book consists of a series of sketches of the leading English and Scottish nobility.

Maclachlan, Archibald N. Campbell-. William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland: being a sketch of his military life and character, chiefly as exhibited in the General Orders of H.R.H., 1745-1747. Lond. 1876.

Contains considerable extracts from the Duke's General Orders throughout the '45.

Macpherson, Alexander. Gleanings from the Cluny Charter Chest. Vols. xix. xxi. Trans. Gaelic Soc. Inverness. 1895-99.

Vol. xix. contains letters of Lord Lovat to Cluny, 1740-45. *Vol. xxi. has letters of the Earl of Mar and others relating to the* '15; *Cluny's account of Clifton Skirmish and other documents relating to the* '45.

——— Glimpses of Church and social life in the Highlands in olden times. Edin. and Lond. 1893.

The Appendix has original papers relating to Cluny and Clan Chattan in 1745.

Macpherson, James. The history of the present Rebellion in Scotland, from the departure of the Pretender's son from Rome down to the present time. Lond. 1745.

The writer describes himself as having been forced into Prince Charles's service. His narrative ends at Prestonpans, and its accuracy is questionable.

Macpherson, James. The history of Great Britain, from the Restoration to the accession of the House of Hannover. 2 vols. Lond. 1775.

Based upon the author's 'Original Papers.'

——— Original papers, containing the secret history of Great Britain, from the Restoration to the accession of the House of Hannover. 2 vols. Lond. 1775.

Contains a large amount of Jacobite correspondence from Nairne's collection of Stuart Papers, 1688-1714.

Madan, Falconer. Stuart papers, relating chiefly to Queen Mary of Modena and the exiled Court of King James II. Roxburghe Club. Lond. 1889.

The Queen's correspondence extends from 1689 *to* 1714. *The papers also contain miscellaneous information on Jacobite affairs within the period.*

Mahon, Lord. The decline of the last Stuarts. Roxburghe Club. Lond. 1843.

Contains despatches to the English Government, chiefly from Sir Horace Mann, relating to the affairs of the exiled Stuarts. The despatches cover the period 1749-88.

——— The Forty-Five. Lond. 1851.

Extracted from the author's 'History of England.' An Appendix contains letters of Prince Charles, June 1745—*January* 1747.

——— History of England, from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. 7 vols. Lond. 1836-54.

*Vol. i. contains an account of the '*15 *and an Appendix of documents covering the period* 1712-19, *from the Windsor Stuart Papers. Vol. iii., besides the account of the '*45, *has an Appendix of documents relating to the period* 1740-48 *from the same and other collections.*

Maidment, James. Analecta Scotica: collections illustrative of the history of Scotland. 2 vols. Edin. 1834-37.

Vol. i. contains an account of Lord Forfar's death at Sheriffmuir. Vol. ii. has letters of Prince Charles and the Duke of Perth to Gordon of Avochy in 1745, *and 'A short memorandum,' etc.* [Vide **Aberdeen.**] *Contains also, 'A short account of the behaviour of the rebel army at Hamilton,' December* 24-27, 1745.

Maidment, James. The Argyle papers. Edin. 1834.
Includes papers relative to John, Duke of Argyll, 1704-17, *and the 'Burnbank Papers,'* 1710-23.

——— Miscellanea Scotica. 4 vols. Glasgow. 1818-20.
Vol. i. contains the 'Authentic narrative of the massacre of Glencoe.' Vol. iii. reprints the 'Memoirs of the Lord Viscount Dundee.'

——— Nugae derelictae: documents illustrative of Scotish affairs, MCCVI.-MDCCXV. Edin. 1888.
Includes two letters from the Jordan-Hill Papers, relating to the Earl of Mar's proceedings in September 1715.

Maitland, William. The history of Edinburgh, from its foundation to the present time. Edin. 1753.
Chaps. viii. and ix. of Bk. i. relate to the '15 *and* '45.

Maitland Club. Miscellany: consisting of original papers and other documents illustrative of the history and literature of Scotland. 4 vols. Edin. and Glasgow. 1834-1847.
Vol. iii. 443-74 *contains an account of the burning of Auchterarder and other villages by the Earl of Mar in January* 1716.

Manchester. The Jacobite trials at Manchester in 1694. From an unpublished manuscript. Ed. W. Beaumont. Chetham Society. Manchester. 1853.

Mansfield, Lord. The Thistle: a dispassionate examen of the prejudice of Englishmen in general to the Scotch nation. Lond. 1747.

Mar, Earl of. A journal of the Earl of Marr's proceedings, from his first arrival in Scotland to his embarkation for France. Printed in France by order of the Earl of Marr. Lond. [1716.]

——— The Earl of Mar marr'd, with the humours of Jockey the Highlander. A tragi-comical farce. Lond. 1715.

Mar, Earl of. The Pretender's flight: or, A mock coronation, with the humours of the facetious Harry Saint John. A tragi-comical farce. Being the sequel of the Earl of Marr marr'd. Lond. 1716.

Both were written by John Philips.

——— The Earl of Mar's legacies to Scotland and to his son, Lord Erskine, 1722-1727. Ed. Hon. Stuart Erskine. Scottish History Society, vol. xxvi. Edin. 1896.

Contains the Earl's narrative of his relations with the Chevalier de St. George, and the latter's letters to the Earl, 1722-23, etc.

——— A letter from the Earl of Mar to the King, before his Majesty's arrival in England; with some remarks on my Lord's subsequent conduct. [Lond.] 1715.

The letter, dated August 30, 1714, professes loyalty to George I. Two letters of September 9, 1715, are also included. The remarks are by Sir Richard Steele.

Marchant, John. The history of the present Rebellion. Lond. 1746.

Largely a compilation of official and newspaper intelligence relating to the '45.

Marchmont, Earl of. A selection from the papers of the Earls of Marchmont, illustrative of events from 1685 to 1750. 3 vols. Lond. 1831.

Maxwell of Kirkconnell, James. Narrative of Charles Prince of Wales' expedition to Scotland in the year 1745. Maitland Club. Edin. 1841.

Maxwell joined Prince Charles probably shortly after the battle of Prestonpans.

Melfort, Duke of. Memoirs of John, Duke of Melfort; being an account of the secret intrigues of the Chevalier de St. George, particularly relating to the present times. Lond. 1714.

John, Duke of Melfort, was the second son of the third

Earl of Perth. He died in January 1714. *His narrative commences with the Chevalier's return from his voyage to Scotland in* 1708.

Melville, Hon. W. H. Leslie. Leven and Melville papers: letters and State papers chiefly addressed to George, Earl of Melville, Secretary of State for Scotland, 1689-1691. Bannatyne Club. Edin. 1843.

Mercury. The general history of Europe, contained in the historical and political monthly Mercuries, done from the originals published at the Hague, by the authority of the States of Holland. 45 vols. Lond. 1690-1733.

The work, which covers the period 1690-1733, *is also quoted under the title,* '*The present state of Europe*,' *etc. Portions of it, relating to the* '15, *are printed in the Clarendon Historical Society's* '*Reprints*,' *first series, Nos. xvi., xvii.*

Mounsey, George G. Carlisle in 1745: authentic account of the occupation of Carlisle in 1745. Lond. and Carlisle. 1846.

Among other materials, contains the contemporary correspondence of Dr. John Waugh, Chancellor of Carlisle.

Murray of Broughton, John. Genuine memoirs of John Murray, Esq. Together with remarks on the same, in a letter to a friend. Lond. 1747.

A spurious work.

——— Memorials of John Murray of Broughton. Ed. Robert F. Bell. Scottish History Society. Edin. 1898.

A narrative of the '45 *by Prince Charles's Secretary. An Appendix contains original documents and letters from the Stuart Papers at Windsor, Record Office, etc., relating to Jacobite affairs,* 1740-49.

——— Particulars of the secret history of [John] Murray of Broughton. Lond. 1766.

Napier, Mark. Memorials and letters illustrative of the life and times of John Graham of Claverhouse. 3 vols. Edin. 1859-62.

Newgate. The history of the press-yard; or, A brief account of the customs and occurrences of Newgate in London. Lond. 1717.

Has an account of Thomas Forster's escape from Newgate after his capture at Preston, 1715.

——— The secret history of the rebels in Newgate, giving an account of their daily behaviour, from their commitment to their gaol-delivery. Taken from a diary kept by a gentleman in the same prison. Lond. [1717.]

——— Poems of love and gallantry written in the Marshalsea and Newgate by several of the prisoners taken at Preston. Lond. 1716.

There is an enlarged edition of this, by W. Tunstall, entitled 'Ballads and some other Occasional Poems.' [*Lond.* 1716.]

Nimmo, William. A general history of Stirlingshire. Edin. 1777.

Extracts from Duncan Macpharic or Macgregor's MS. account of the Clan's conduct in 1745-46 *are in the second edit.* 1817.

North-Britain. Memoirs of North-Britain; taken from authentick writings, in which it is prov'd that the Scots nation have always been zealous in the defence of the Protestant religion and liberty. Lond. 1715.

Includes accounts 'of the designs of the Jacobites in opposing the Union, and of their Invasion-Plot after it,' and of 'the agreement between the English and Scots Tories, since the change of the old Ministry, in their attempts against the Protestant succession.'

Oldmixon, John. History of England during the reigns of King William and Queen Mary, Queen Anne, King George I. Lond. 1735.

Oliphant, T. L. Kington. The Jacobite Lairds of Gask. Lond. 1870.

Has extracts from the diary, correspondence, etc., of Laurence Oliphant of Gask during the '45, *and correspondence relating to the* '15.

Omond, George W. T. The Arniston memoirs: Three centuries of a Scottish house, 1571-1838. Edited from the family papers. Edin. 1887.

Several letters to Solicitor-General Dundas, relating to the '45, *are in chap. viii.*

Orléans, Duchesse d'. Correspondance complète de Madame Duchesse d'Orléans, née Princesse Palatine, mère du Régent. Ed. Pierre G. Brunet. 2 vols. Paris. 1857.

Palm, Georg F. Interessante scenen aus der geschichte der menschheit. Hannover. 1799.

Includes a narrative of the '45, *under the title* '*Merkwürdige und rührende Scenen aus der Geschichte Karl Eduards*," *by Colonel Power, who was in Prince Charles's service.*

Paton, Henry. Papers about the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745. Scottish History Society's Miscellany. Edin. 1893.

Contains Peter Clarke's '*Journall of severall occurrences*,' *November* 2-14, 1715; *Bishop Nicolson's letters, December* 8-27, 1716, *relating to the Jacobite trials; the diary, September* 14—*November* 23, 1745, *of John Campbell, the Edinburgh banker.*

Patten, Robert. The history of the late Rebellion: with original papers, and characters of the principal noblemen and gentlemen concern'd in it. Lond. 1717.

Includes the Earl of Mar's '*Journall*' *of the* '15. *A list of the Clans and their strength is on pp.* 231-40. *Much of Mar's correspondence is incorporated into the text.*

Penrice, Gerard. A genuine and impartial account of the remarkable life and vicissitudes of fortune of C.

Ratcliffe, Esq. With a full account of the Rebellion in England and Scotland at that time. Lond. 1747.

Perth, Earl of. Letters from James, Earl of Perth, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, etc., to his sister the Countess of Erroll and other members of his family. Ed. William Jerdan. Camden Society. Lond. 1845.

The letters were written during the Earl's exile at Rome and elsewhere, 1688-96.

Perth. A true account of the proceedings at Perth; the debates in the secret Council there; with the reasons and causes of the suddain breaking up of the Rebellion. Written by a rebel. Lond. 1716.

Gives a full account of the Councils held at Perth on January 28, 1716, *and following days, at which the retreat was resolved upon. Chambers, in his* '*History*,' *and Maidment, in vol. ii. of the* '*Miscellany*' *of the Spottiswoode Society* (*where it is reprinted*), *ascribe it to the Master of Sinclair. But* vide *his* '*Memoirs*,' *p. viii.*

——— The Pretender's proceedings at Perth described. [Edin. 1716?]

Compares the Chevalier to Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, and is silent upon his proceedings at Perth.

Petitot, Claude B. Collection complète des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France, depuis le règne de Philippe Auguste. 130 vols. Paris. 1819-29.

Vols. lxv. lxvi. contain '*Mémoires de Maréchal de Berwick, écrits par lui-même; avec une suite abrégée de* 1716 *jusqu'à sa mort en* 1734.'

Peyton, Sir Edward. The divine catastrophe of the kingly family of the House of Stuarts. Lond. 1731.

Philalethes. A letter touching the late Rebellion, and what means led to it; and of the Pretender's title. Lond. 1717.

Philip, James. The Grameid, an heroic poem descriptive of the campaign of Viscount Dundee in 1689. Ed. Alexander D. Murdoch. Scottish History Society. Edin. 1888.

Pichot, Amédée. Histoire de Charles-Édouard, dernier Prince de la Maison de Stuart. Paris. 1830.

The instructions of the French King to the Marquis d'Eguilles, who joined Prince Charles at Holyrood after Prestonpans; a letter of Cardinal York, dated November 15, 1745; *and two letters of Prince Charles in* 1763, 1774, *are in an Appendix to the* 1846 *edition.*

Pickering, William. The Rebellion of 1745. Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 1881.

Compiled from the contemporary 'Newcastle Courant.'

Rae, Peter. The history of the late Rebellion rais'd against King George by the friends of the Popish Pretender. Dumfries. 1718.

The second edition [*Lond.* 1746] *is enlarged by a collection of original papers relating to the* '15.

Ramsay, John. Scotland and Scotsmen in the eighteenth century. 2 vols. Edin. and Lond. 1888.

The author was born in 1736. *Chap. xv. relates to the* '45.

Rapin-Thoyras, Paul de. Histoire d'Angleterre, depuis l'invasion de Jules César jusqu'à l'avénement de George II. à la Couronne. 13 vols. La Haye. 1724-36.

The work is translated into English by Nicholas Tindal, in 17 *vols.* [*Lond.* 1725-51.]

Ratcliffe, Charles. Genuine and impartial memoirs of Charles Radcliffe. With an account of his family, and how far he was concerned in the Rebellion of 1715. Lond. 1746.

——— Genuine memoirs of the life and character of Charles

Ratcliffe, Esq., who was beheaded on Tower Hill, Dec. 8, 1746. Lond. 1746.

Ratcliffe, Charles. A sketch of the life and character of Mr Radcliffe, containing the part he acted in the Rebellion in the year 1715. Lond. 1746.

Ray, James. A compleat history of the Rebellion. Bristol. 1750.

Ray served as a volunteer under the Duke of Cumberland in the '45.

Rebellion. An account of the late Scotch invasion, with true copies of authentick papers. n. p. 1709.

Prints Lord Haversham's speech in the House of Lords on February 25, 1709, *criticising the want of preparation to resist the Jacobite attempt in* 1708, *and several letters of David, Earl of Leven and Melville, in March* 1708, *on the same subject.*

——— Histoire des Révolutions d'Écosse et d'Irlande durant les années 1707, 1708 et 1709. Dublin. 1761.

——— A collection of original letters and authentick papers relating to the Rebellion 1715. Edin. 1730

Includes the proclamations and letters of the Earl of Mar, August 25, 1715 *to February* 4, 1716.

——— A compleat history of the late Rebellion. Lond. 1716.

A considerable narrative of 173 *pp. Prints the official documents issued on both sides during the* '15.

——— A faithful register of the late Rebellion: or, An impartial account of the impeachments, trials, speeches, etc., of all who have suffered for the cause of the Pretender in Great Britain. Lond. 1718.

A full account (415 *pp.*) *of the trials which followed the* '15.

——— A full and authentick narrative of the intended horrid conspiracy and invasion. Lond. 1715.

A pamphlet of 33 *pp.; relating to the* '15.

Rebellion. The historical register, containing an impartial relation of all transactions that happened during the first seventeen months of the reign of King George. 2 vols. Lond. 1724.

Covers the period July 1714 *to January* 1716.

——— A key to the plot, by reflections on the Rebellion. In a letter from a countryman in Scotland to a courtier in London. Lond. 1716.

——— A letter from an officer in the King's army, after it had march'd northward from Aberdeen, to his friend at London, February $17\frac{15}{16}$. n. p. 1716.

Describes the motives for the abandonment of Perth, and the Chevalier de St. George's movements in 1716. *A letter from the Earl of Mar, appended to the pamphlet, dated Avignon, April* 1716, *endorses its accuracy.*

——— A short history of the late Rebellion, and the conduct of Divine Providence. In a letter from Edinburgh to a gentleman at Dumfries. n. p. [1716?]

——— The state of the present Rebellion, wherein the unreasonableness and injustice of it is demonstrated. Lond. 1716.

——— Superiorities display'd: or, Scotland's grievance, wherein is shewn that these have been the handles of Rebellion in preceeding ages, especially in the year 1715. Edin. 1746.

——— Letters which passed between Count Gyllenborg, the Barons Gortz, Sparre, and others, relating to the design of raising a Rebellion in his Majesty's dominions, to be supported by a force from Sweden. Edin. 1717.

——— The Jacobite attempt of 1719. Ed. William K. Dickson. Scottish History Society. Edin. 1895.

Contains the Duke of Ormonde's correspondence with

the Chevalier de St. George, Cardinal Alberoni and others, 1718-19. *An Appendix contains documents from the Windsor, Record Office, and British Museum collections, bearing on the Jacobite attempt of* 1719.

Rebellion. A serious address to the people of Great Britain. In which the certain consequences of the present Rebellion are fully demonstrated. Lond. 1745.

——— A collection of declarations, proclamations, and other valuable papers. Edin. 1749.

Contains Prince Charles's Edinburgh proclamations in 1745*; his commission and the proclamation from Rome, December* 1743*; his proclamation from Paris, May* 1745*; and the journal of the march to and from Derby, November* 8*—December* 20, 1745.

——— A compleat and authentick history of the rise, progress, and extinction of the late Rebellion. Lond. 1747.

A pamphlet of 68 *pp.; on the* '45.

——— The contrast: or, Scotland as it was in the year 1745, and Scotland in the year 1819. Lond. 1825.

Contains the journal of a medical officer who attended the Duke of Cumberland during the '45.

——— Copy of part of a letter, written from Falkirk, 29th January 1746. From a gentleman volunteer to his friend at Glasgow. Glasgow. 1746.

From a prisoner in the hands of the Highlanders. Of no particular value.

——— The Edinburgh packet opened, by a collection of curious pamphlets published on occasion of the present unaccountable Rebellion, and on other important critical occasions, from 1724 to 1745. Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 1745.

——— An enquiry into the causes of the late Rebellion, and the proper methods for preventing the like misfortune for the future. Lond. 1746.

Rebellion. Hereditary right not indefeasible : or, Some arguments founded upon the unalterable laws of society and government, proving that the right claimed by the Jacobites can never belong to any Prince or succession of Princes. With an Appendix, occasion'd by the dying speeches of some of the rebels. Lond. 1747.

——— The history of the Rebellion raised against H. M. King George II. Dublin. 1746.

Contains plans of the battles of Falkirk and Culloden.

——— The history of the Rebellion 1745 and 1746. With an account of the genius and temper of the Clans, and an abstract of their former Rebellions. Lond. [1750?]

——— The history of the rise, progress, and extinction of the Rebellion in Scotland, in the years 1745-6, with a particular account of the hardships the Young Pretender suffered after the battle of Culloden. Lond. n.d.

——— A list of persons concerned in the Rebellion. Ed. Earl of Rosebery and Walter Macleod. Scottish History Society. Edin. 1890.

The 'List' was compiled by the Supervisors of Excise in 1746. *It contains nearly three thousand names, and forms a muster-roll of the Jacobite army in the* '45. *Original papers from the Signet Library MSS. are appended, relating to Jacobite prisoners.*

——— Letter from a gentleman at Newcastle to the burgesses of Edinburgh, relative to the Rebellion. [Newcastle-upon-Tyne?] 1745.

——— A letter from a Scots gentleman at Berwick to his intimate friend at Newcastle, concerning the Rebellion. Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 1745.

——— A short and true narrative of the Rebellion in 1745 : beginning with the Young Chevalier's entry into the

West of Scotland, until his banishment out of France. Edin. 1779.

Reumont, Alfred von. Die Gräfin von Albany. 2 vols. Berlin. 1860.

The life and correspondence of the wife of Prince Charles.

Rose, D. Murray. Historical notes: or, Essays on the '15 and '45. Edin. 1897.

Has original letters relating to Lord Seaforth's campaign, to Sir Robert Munro of Foulis, and to William Mackintosh of Borlum, in the '15. Includes also Essays on Lord Macleod's campaign in 1746, etc.

——— Some Kindeace letters. Dingwall. 1896.

Contains twenty-six letters, between the dates January 25, 1733, and December 10, 1747, chiefly from Lord President Duncan Forbes to his sister and her husband, David Ross of Kindeace.

——— Prince Charlie's friends: or, Jacobite indictments. Aberdeen. 1896.

Contains the evidence given at the Jacobite trials in 1746.

——— After Culloden.

In 'Scots Magazine,' 1900, pp. 434-46. A Report on the State of the Highlands after the '45, by Patrick Campbell and — Stuart.

Rose, Hugh. Accompt of expensis at Edinburgh, March 1715. Ed. Alexander H. Millar. Scottish History Society's Miscellany. Edin. 1893.

The 'Accompt' is that of Alexander Rose, son of Hugh Rose of Kilravock.

Royalist, The. London. 1890—.

In vol. iii. 83 is a reprint of a MS. of John Robinson, of Hartburn, Northumberland, which gives some account of the preparations in that county to resist Prince Charles in 1745.

Saint-Simon, Duc de. Œuvres complettes de Louis de Saint Simon, Duc et Pair de France, pour servir à l'histoire de Louis XIV., de la Régence, et de Louis XV. 13 vols. Strasbourg. 1791.

Salmon, Thomas. The characters of the several noblemen and gentlemen that have died in the defence of their Princes, or the liberties of their country. Together with the characters of those who have suffer'd for treason and rebellion for the last 300 years. Lond. 1724.

——— The chronological historian, containing a regular account of all material transactions and occurrences relating to English affairs, to the death of King George I. Lond. 1733.

Scots Magazine, The. Vols. vii. viii. Edin. 1745-46.
Follows the contemporary Rising in great detail month by month, and has special articles upon its chief incidents.

Scottish Journal, The. Vol. ii. Edin. 1848.
On p. 113 *is a short contemporary diary of the* '45.

Sheridan, Sir Thomas. Relazione della vittoria riportata in Scozia da Carlo Eduardo sù le truppe inglesi, 28 Gennajo, 1746. Roma. 1746.
An account of the battle of Falkirk.

Sheriffmuir. An account of the engagement near Dunblain yesterday the 13th instant, betwixt the King's army under the command of his Grace the Duke of Argyll, and the rebels commanded by Mar. Edin. 1715.

——— The battle of Sheriffmuir. Related from original sources. By an F.S.A. (Scot.). Stirling. 1898.

Sinclair, Master of. Memoirs of the Insurrection in Scotland in 1715. Abbotsford Club. Edin. 1858.
The author was attainted for his participation in

the '15. His lengthy 'Memoirs' severely blame Mar.

Smollett, Tobias. A complete history of England, to the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.. 11 vols. Lond. 1758-60.

Spalding Club. Miscellany. 5 vols. Aberdeen. 1841-52.

Vol. i. contains Captain James Stuart's 'March of the Highland Army, 1745-46,' extracts from John Bisset's Aberdeen diary for 1745-46, and contemporary letters to the Laird of Stoneywood, 1745-46. Vol. ii. has letters of Lord Lovat, 1740-45. Vol. iii. has letters of Lord Grange, chiefly from Edinburgh, 1731-41. Vol. iv. contains two letters of 1746, one of them reporting rumours as to the result of the battle of Falkirk.

Spottiswoode Society. Miscellany: a collection of original papers and tracts. 2 vols. Edin. 1844-45.

Vol. i. contains a 'Letter from an English traveller at Rome,' May 6, 1721, giving an account of the Chevalier; and letters of Lord Lovat to George Crawford, 1728-30. Vol. ii. has the 'Memoirs of John, Duke of Melfort,' relating to the Chevalier's intrigues, 1708-14; 'A true account of the proceedings at Perth [vide **Perth**]; *an 'Account of the battle of Sheriffmuir,' dated from Stirling, November 15, 1715; the 'Memorial as to the state of the prisoners on account of the late Rebellion,' ascribed to Lord Advocate Dalrymple in 1716; Lord George Murray's account of Culloden; and letters of Colonel James Wolfe relating to the measures to be taken against the vanquished after that battle, etc.*

Stackhouse, Thomas. Memoirs of the life, character, conduct, and writings of Dr. Francis Atterbury, late Bishop of Rochester. Lond. 1723.

State Trials. A complete collection of State trials. Vols. xv.-xix. Lond. 1812-13.

Vol. xv. contains the trials of the Earl of Derwent-

water and other Lords engaged in the '15. *Vol. xvii. has the trial of John Graham and others for drinking the Chevalier's health in* 1715. *Vol. xviii. contains the trials of the Jacobite peers and others in* 1746. *Vol. xix. has that of Dr. Archibald Cameron.*

Stewart, Archibald. A true account of the behaviour and conduct of Archibald Stewart, late Lord Provost of Edinburgh. Lond. 1748.

Stewart was in office when the Highlanders occupied the city in 1745.

Stirling. Extracts from the records of the royal Burgh of Stirling, A.D. 1667-1752. Glasgow. 1889.

Has, on pp. 278-82, *an account of the surrender of Stirling to Prince Charles in* 1746, *drawn up by the magistrates of the Burgh.*

Stuart, House of. Ahab's evil; containing a secret history of the Stuarts. Lond. 1720.

——— History of the conspiracies, trials, and dying speeches of all those who have suffered on account of the House of Stuart, from the Revolution down to the commencement of the last Rebellion. Lond. 1747.

——— The right of the House of Stewart to the Crown of Scotland consider'd. Second edit. Edin. 1746.

——— A vindication of the royal family of the Stuarts from the aspersions cast on them by Rapin, Oldmixon, etc., in which the life of King Charles I. is particularly considered. Lond. 1734.

Swift, Jonathan. The works of Jonathan Swift, D.D. 19 vols. Edin. 1814.

Sydenham, Henry. Alexis: or, The worthy unfortunate. Being a true narrative of the affecting case of a young gentleman whose ruin was occasioned by the late Rebellion. Lond. 1747.

——— The fatal effects of the present Rebellion, exemplified

in a true but melancholy account of the life and death of M^r^ Sydenham. Together with some other authentic instances of what the country has suffered by the tyrannical behaviour of the Pretender's followers. Lond. [1745.]

Thornton, Percy M. The Stuart dynasty: short studies of its rise, course, and early exile. The latter drawn from papers in Her Majesty's possession. Lond. 1890.

Contains a selection of letters from the Windsor collection, for the years 1676 *to* 1716, *written chiefly by the Chevalier de St. George, the Duke of Berwick, Lord Bolingbroke, and the Earl of Mar.*

Tildesley, Thomas. The Tyldesley diary. Personal records of Thomas Tildesley during the years 1712-13-14. Preston. 1873.

Tildesley was a prominent Lancashire Jacobite.

Townley, Francis. The genuine trial of Francis Townly convicted of high treason on July 15th, 1746. To which is added the trials of G. Fletcher, T. Chadwick, and W. Battragh, officers in the aforesaid Townley's regiment. Lond. [1746.]

Townley commanded the Manchester regiment which capitulated at Carlisle in December 1745.

——— A genuine account of the behaviour, confession, and dying words of Francis Townly, (nominal) Colonel of the Manchester Regiment, Thomas Deacon, James Dawson, John Berwick, George Fletcher, and Andrew Blood, Captains in the Manchester Regiment; Thomas Chadwick, Lieutenant, Thomas Sydall, Adjutant in the same; and Counsellor David Morgan, a voluntier in the Pretender's army. Who were executed the 30th day of July 1746, at Kennington Common, for High Treason. Lond. [1746.]

Has interesting biographical notices of the condemned men.

Wallace, James. The history of Scotland, from Fergus the first King, to the commencement of the Union in 1707. With an account of the Rebellion in 1715. Dublin. 1724.

Walpole, Horace. Memoirs of the last ten years of the reign of George II. 2 vols. Lond. 1822.

——— The letters of Horace Walpole. 9 vols. Ed. Peter Cunningham. Lond. 1857-59.

The letters to Sir Horace Mann relate the progress of the Rising of 1745.

Ware, S. Hibbert. The state of parties in Lancashire before the Rebellion of 1715. Chetham Society. Manchester. 1845.

Besides the editor's narrative of the '15, *the volume contains Peter Clarke's* '*Journall of severall occurrences, November* 2-14, 1715, *and his* '*Preston Fight.*'

Wesley, John. Works. 17 vols. Lond. 1809-13.

Wesley's '*Journal*,' *in vol. ii.* 308, *describes the position at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in September* 1745.

Whitefoord. The Whitefoord papers. Ed. William A. S. Hewins. Oxford. 1898.

Colonel Charles Whitefoord was taken prisoner at Prestonpans. His letters and papers illustrate Cope's campaign in 1745.

Wilkinson, W. A compleat history of the trials of the rebel Lords. Lond. n. d.

An account of the trials in 1746.

William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland. The book of the Chronicles of William, Duke of Cumberland; being an account of the rise and progress of the present Rebellion. Edin. 1746.

——— Epistola gratulabunda ad Gulielmum Cumbriæ Ducem. Edin. 1746.

William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland. Historical memoirs of William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, including the military and political history of Great Britain during that period. Lond. 1767.

——— A journey through part of England and Scotland along with the army under the command of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland. By a volunteer. Lond. 1747.

The author served under the Duke in the '45.

Wodrow, Robert. Analecta: or, Materials for a history of remarkable providences. Maitland Club. 4 vols. Edin. 1842-43.

Vide *under 'Jacobites' in Index for references to the party*, 1710-27.

——— Correspondence of the Rev. Robert Wodrow. Wodrow Society. 3 vols. Edin. 1842-43.

Several letters in vol. ii. bear upon the progress of the '15.

Wright, C. E. Guthrie. Gideon Guthrie: a monograph written 1712 to 1730. Lond. 1900.

Guthrie's experiences during the '15 *are on pp.* 86-93.

Wright, John. Out in the Forty-Five.

In 'The Antiquary,' vols. xxiii. xxiv. A series of letters written chiefly from York, November 10, 1745 *to January* 18, 1746.

York. A true and impartial account of the trials of the rebels at York. York. 1746.

II. CONTEMPORARY MATERIALS STILL IN MANUSCRIPT OR INCOMPLETELY EDITED

Aberdeen Municipal MSS.

Contain three volumes of '*Papers relating to the Rebellion of* 1746,' *and two bundles of* '*Papers anent the Rebellions of* 1715 *and* 1745, *relating principally to the latter, and consisting mostly of judicial examinations of captive rebels, orders for forage, and the like.*' Vide '*Historical Manuscripts Commission*,' *Rept. I.* 122; *Allardyce*, '*Historical Papers*,' *vol. i.*; *Anderson*, '*Charters and other writs illustrating the history of the royal Burgh of Aberdeen*,' [*Aberdeen*, 1890,] *pp.* 422, 424. Vide *also pp.* 13, 44, 51, 110, 123 *of the Report.*

Albemarle Correspondence.

This collection, which includes nearly one hundred and fifty letters, is in the possession of Colonel H. W. Feilden, Wells, Norfolk. The letters are all dated August 1746, *and contain five from Lord Loudoun at Inverness and Fort Augustus, August* 10-21; *six from General Bland at Stirling, August* 3-29; *twelve from General Blakeney at Inverness, August* 1-31; *eighteen from the magistrates, Lord Sempil, Lt.-Col. Jackson, and others at Aberdeen, August* 3-30; *miscellaneous letters from various officers stationed in the Highlands.*

Argyll MSS.

Letters to John, Duke of Argyll, relating to the '15, *and one relating to the Jacobite attempt in* 1719, *are in* '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. VI.* 618-20.

Atholl MSS.

Vide '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Report VII.* 704, *for letters of Prince Charles and Lord George Murray in January* 1746. *A large amount of Jacobite corre-*

spondence, 1705-60, *is calendared in* Ibid. *Rept. xii. Pt. viii.* 62-75. *A portion of the family papers has been printed by the Duke for private circulation.*

Braye MSS.

Contain Stuart papers which cover the period 1701-1809. *They include letters of the Chevalier de St. George, Prince Charles, Cardinal York, the Countess of Albany, and Clementina Walkinshaw.* Vide '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. x. Pt. vi.* 216-52.

British Museum MSS.

A large and miscellaneous collection of Jacobite letters, etc., are among the Egerton, Gualterio, Hardwicke, Newcastle, and Stowe MSS. They include letters of the Chevalier de St. George; letters of Sir John Cope, and Marshal Wade's letters and Order-Book, relating to the '45; Sir A. Mitchell's correspondence; Sir Robert Strange's papers; Reports of Jacobite spies, etc. [Vide *the printed catalogues of the several manuscript collections in the Museum.*] *Of the Chevalier de St. George's letters, those in the Egerton MSS. number ten, dated as follows:* 1. '*d'Avignon, ce* 14 *May* 1716'; 2. '*A Urbino, ce* 30 *Sep^bre.* 1718'; 3. '*Le* 23 *Sep.* 1719'; 4. '*De Rome, ce* 27 *Auril* 1720'; 5. '*De Rome, ce* 16 *Oct.* 1720'; 6. '*De Rome, ce* 15 *Fevrier* 1721'; 7. '*De Rome, ce* 1 *Dec.* 1721'; 8. '*De Rome, ce* 25 *Jan.* 1722'; 9. '*Roma Alli* 15 *Maggio* 1742'; 10. *n.p. n.d. Among the Addit. MSS. there are upwards of forty of the Chevalier's letters,* 1701-1745, *including his correspondence with Cardinals Gualterio, de la Trémouille, Aquaviva, the Duke of Modena, Pope Clement the Eleventh, Cardinal Caprara, and intercepted letters to Baron Ripperda.*

Cathcart MSS.

Include letters of Lord Stair from Paris in 1715-16, *and in* 1744-47, *and an account and plan of the battle*

of Culloden. Vide '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Report* II. 24-28. Vide. *also pp.* 178, 187, 189, 234.

Carlisle MSS.

Some particulars of the '45 *and the subsequent trials are in* '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept.* XV. *Pt. vi.* 199 et seq.

Crawford MSS.

A number of broadsides relating to the '15 *and* '45 *are calendared in* '*Bibliotheca Lindesiana*,' 242-50, 297-98.

Captain Daniel's MS.

This narrative of the '45 *is quoted in Lord Mahon's* '*History.*' *It was communicated to him by Lady Willoughby d'Eresby, and is now at Drummond Castle. Captain Daniel joined the Prince in Lancashire and attached himself to the Duke of Perth.*

Denbigh MSS.

In '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept.* VII. 197, *is a newsletter, written possibly to Dykevelt, dated from London, May* $\frac{29}{19}$, 1691, *regarding the projects of the Scottish Jacobites.*

Domestic State Papers.

The printed Calendars of these papers in the Record Office do not come down later than 1691. *Considerable portions of the non-calendared papers of the reigns of George I. and George II. have been printed, notably in the Appendices to the Jacobite volumes of the Scottish History Society.*

Drummond Murray MSS.

Letters of the Chevalier de St. George and Prince Charles to the Marquis of Tullibardine, 1720-46; *the Chevalier's letters to Admiral Gordon,* 1716-40; *papers relating to the* '15 *and* '45; *and Jacobite correspondence,* 1716-35, *are in* '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. X. Pt. i.* 91-3, 123-30, 157-65, 168-85.

Eliot Hodgkin MSS.

Include the Ormonde Papers, 1697-1779, *which contain a large number of letters from the Chevalier de St. George and Prince Charles. They are printed in* '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. XV. Pt. ii.* 205-51.

Elphinstone MSS.

Include a large amount of Jacobite correspondence, 1725-56. Vide '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. IX.* 217 et seq. *Papers and letters*, 1717-58, *of George, Earl Marischal and Field-Marshal Keith, including some from the Chevalier de St. George, are on pp.* 215-17.

Finch MSS.

Contain '*Memoirs concerning the affairs of Scotland, from Queen Ann's accession to the throne, to the commencement of the union of the two Kingdoms of Scotland and England in May* 1707.' Vide '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. VII.* 515.

Fitzherbert MSS.

A series of letters describing the march into England in 1745, *and a long list of Jacobites convicted in Yorkshire, are printed in* '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. XIII. Pt. vi.* 160 et seq.

Fleming MSS.

Vide '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. XII. Pt. vii.* 355-356, *for some details regarding the* '15 *and* '45; *and pp.* 238 et seq. *for letters relating to Claverhouse.*

Forfeited Estates Commission.

For an inventory of documents relating to the forfeiture of English Jacobite estates, vide '*Fifth Report of the Deputy Keeper of Records*,' *App. i. pp.* 97-130. *For forfeited Scottish estates*, vide infra, **Public Records of Scotland.** *Mr. A. H. Millar is editing a volume of these papers for the Scottish History Society.*

James Gatt's MS.

Contains twelve contemporary Latin poems on the '45. Vide *Mr. P. J. Anderson's note on them in* '*Scottish Notes and Queries*,' *vol. ix.* 180.

Gualterio MSS.

The Abbé Philippe-Antoine Gualterio was Nuncio at the Court of Versailles, 1700-1706. *His papers are in the British Museum, and include three letters of the Chevalier de St. George, dated* 1721-24. Cf. '*Notes and Queries*,' *fourth series, vol. vi.* 405.

Hamilton MSS.

General Hugh Mackay's despatches relating to the campaign against Claverhouse are in '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. XI. Pt. vi.* 179 et seq.

Harley MSS.

Defoe's correspondence with Harley during his visit to Scotland in 1706 *is in* '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. XV. Pt. iv.* 269 et seq. *His* '*Proposals for Scotland*,' *in* 1710, *are on pp.* 585-90.

Holdernesse MSS.

Contain a large quantity of documents relating to Jacobite affairs after 1749. Vide '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. XI. Pt. vii.* 43 et seq.

Home Office Records, Scotland.

These documents in the Public Record Office include three volumes of '*Church Books, Scotland*,' *for* 1724-60; *twelve volumes of* '*Letter Books, Scotland*,' *for* 1713-25; *forty-five bundles of* '*Miscellaneous Papers, Scotland*,' *for* 1688-1760; *thirty-four volumes of* '*Warrant Books, Scotland*,' *for* 1670-1760.

Inverness Municipal MSS.

Contain a large number of unpublished materials bearing upon the Jacobite period and Risings.

Kenyon MSS.

Details as to the Highlanders at Manchester in 1745 *are printed in* '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. XIV. Pt. iv.* 478 et seq.

Kilmarnock Papers.

A folio volume containing prints, pasquils and family papers relating to the '15 *and* '45 *is in Lord Erroll's possession at Slains Castle.* Vide *note upon it in Gibb and Skelton,* '*The royal House of Stuart*,' *pp.* 37-40.

Lawson MSS.

Include letters of Prince Charles and the Duke of Perth, dated from Preston, November 27, 1745, *regarding the invasion of England.* Vide '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. III.* 255.

Lonsdale MSS.

Information regarding the state of Westmoreland in December 1745 *is in* '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. XIII. Pt. vii.* 126.

The Loyall Dissuasive.

This narrative, written by Sir Æneas Macpherson in 1703, *is being edited for the Scottish History Society by the Rev. Canon Murdoch. Dr. T. G. Law, in the twelfth Report of the Society, describes it as throwing light* '*on the sentiments of Highlanders, and their movements, which led to the Jacobite risings of* 1715 *and* 1745.'

Andrew Lumisden's MSS.

His narrative of the battles of Prestonpans, Falkirk, and Culloden was in 1885 *in the possession of Mr. James Gibson-Craig of Edinburgh. It appeared in the catalogue of his collection, and was sold in* 1887 *to Messrs. Ellis and Elvey. His letter-book is in the possession of Mr. Alexander Pelham Trotter.*

Macdonald of Glengarry's MS. Letter-Book.

Is in the possession of General Alastair Macdonald. Mr. Andrew Lang has made use of it in his 'Companions of Pickle.'

Duncan Macpharic or Macgregor's MS.

This account of the action of Clan Macgregor in 1745 *was in* 1897 *in the possession of Miss Murray Macgregor. Extracts from it are printed in Nimmo, 'History of Stirlingshire,' second edit.*, 1817.

Marchmont MSS.

Correspondence relating to Highland affairs, and particularly to the '15, *is in part printed in 'Hist. MSS. Comm.,' Rept. XIV. Pt. iii.* 117 et seq.

Montrose MSS.

Include letters relating to the Jacobite attempt in 1708, *and to the* '15 *; notices of the proceedings of Rob Roy ; unsigned letters on the battle of Sheriffmuir, etc.* Vide *'Hist. MSS. Comm.,' Rept. III.* 368-86.

Moray MSS.

Letters descriptive of the movements of Prince Charles's army and of the battles of Falkirk and Culloden are calendared in 'Hist. MSS. Comm.,' Rept. III. 419.

Morrison MSS.

For a news-letter regarding the '45, vide *'Hist. MSS. Comm.,' Rept. IX.* 477. *A memorandum 'About the birth of the Pretender,' and a letter from Defoe at Edinburgh in November* 1706, *are on p.* 469.

Muncaster MSS.

A short account of the retreat from Derby in 1745 *is in 'Hist. MSS. Comm.,' Rept. X. Pt. iv.* 296.

Orderly Book of the 36th Foot before and after Culloden.

Vide *'Transac. Soc. Antiq. Scot.,' vol. iii. App.* 189. Vide *also vol. iv. App.* 16, *for 'Anecdotes of the Highlanders and of the Rebellion of* 1745-6.'

Perth Municipal MSS.

A volume of papers and documents from this collection, relating to the '15 *and* '45, *is being prepared for the Scottish History Society. They include lists of those at Perth who engaged in the* '15, *and documents relating to the Jacobite trials at Perth in* 1746.

Public Records of Scotland.

Include several volumes relating to the management of estates forfeited after the Risings. Vide *pp.* 45-52 *of Millar and Bryce's 'Hand-Book of Records in H.M. General Register House,' [Edin.* 1885.]

Richmond MSS.

For reports upon Scottish affairs, 1744-46, *and accounts of the battles of Falkirk and Culloden,* vide '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. I.* 115.

Ross MSS.

Two letters of Lord President Forbes to Alexander Ross, October—November 1745, *are in 'Hist. MSS. Comm.,' Rept. VI.* 718.

Roxburghe MSS.

Personal reminiscences of the '45 *by the fifth Duke of Roxburghe are in part printed in 'Hist. MSS. Comm.,' Rept. XIV. Pt. iii.* 48 et seq.

Rutland MSS.

Letters from the Marquess of Granby and Lord George Manners, serving in the campaigns in Scotland and England, 1745-46, *are calendared in 'Hist. MSS. Comm.,' Rept. XII. Pt. v.* 196-98.

Seafield MSS.

Include a series of letters from Lord Hardwicke, 1747-64, *bearing upon the settlement of Scotland after the* '45. Vide '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. III.* 404.

Signet Library MSS.

A selection of papers from the collection, dealing with the '45, is printed in vol. viii. 390 et seq. *of the Scottish History Society's Publications.*

Stair MSS.

Contain Lord Stair's general correspondence, 1709-1746. Vide '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. II.* 188-91.

Stewart MSS.

An account of the battle of Falkirk is printed on pp. 144-45 *of* '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. X. Pt. iv.*

Stuart MSS.

Include a '*Journal of route with the Hessians*' *in Scotland, March 5 to April 3,* 1746. *Extracts from it are printed in* '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. VIII.* 313-14.

Stuart Papers.

Portions of this collection, preserved at Windsor, have been printed in the works of Browne, Glover, Mahon, Thornton, and in the Jacobite volumes of the Scottish History Society. Vide infra *in the Subject-Index.*

Sutherland MSS.

Contain letters from Lord Lovat, Duncan Forbes and others on public affairs, 1707-46; *a narrative of the* '*Conduct of William, Earl of Sutherland,* 1745'; *and letters to Claverhouse.* Vide '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. II.* 178-79; *Fraser,* '*Sutherland Book*,' *vol. i.* 405.

Townshend MSS.

Jacobite papers and letters, 1703-27, *are calendared and in part printed in* '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. XI. Pt. iv.* 153 et seq.

Treasury Papers.

These papers, in the Public Record Office, are calendared to the year 1734. *Numerous documents relating to the* '15 *are in the published volume for* 1714-19. Vide '*Rebellion*' *in Index.*

Trevor MSS.

Letters, including one from an eye-witness of the battle of Falkirk, 1746, *are in* '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. XIV. Pt. ix.* 139, 144. *On p.* 130 *is an account of the fight between the* '*Lion*' *and* '*Elizabeth*' *on Prince Charles's voyage to Scotland in* 1745.

Wemyss MSS.

Include a journal of the '45 *by David, Lord Elcho, who took part in it. The MS. is quoted by Sir Walter Scott in his* '*Tales of a Grandfather*,' *and by Ewald in his* '*Life of Prince Charles.*' Vide '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. III.* 423.

Weston MSS.

For accounts of the battles of Falkirk and Culloden, vide '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' *Rept. X. Pt. i.* 440 et seq. *Letters of Bishop Sherlock with schemes for the pacification of the Highlands, June* 1746, *are on pp.* 291-93.

III. NON-CONTEMPORARY WORKS.

Anderson, John. Essay on the state of society and knowledge in the Highlands of Scotland, at the period of the Rebellion in 1745. Edin. 1827.

——— Historical account of the family of Frisel or Fraser, particularly Fraser of Lovat. Edin. 1825.

Contains correspondence of Simon, Lord Lovat.

Anderson, Joseph. The Oliphants in Scotland, with a selection of original documents from the Charter Chest at Gask. Edin. 1879.

Anderson, Peter. Guide to Culloden Moor, and story of the battle. Edin. 1867.

Anti-Jacobin Review, The. Vols. xii. xiii. Lond. 1802.
Has a series of critical articles on Home's 'History of the Rebellion.'

Argyll. The House of Argyll and the collateral branches of the Clan Campbell. Glasgow. 1871.

Atholl, Duke of. History of the siege of Blair Castle in 1746. n.p. 1874.

Bain, Robert. History of the ancient province of Ross. Dingwall. 1899.
Chaps. xix.-xxi. deal with the Risings in Ross-shire.

Bond, Charles. Reminiscences of a Clachnacuddin Nonagenarian. Inverness. 1886.
The reminiscences of John Maclean.

Boswell, James. The journal of a tour to the Hebrides. Lond. 1785.
Dr. Johnson's interview with Flora Macdonald is under the dates September 12 and 13.

Boyd, William. Old Inverugie. Peterhead. 1885.

Brand, John. The history and antiquities of the town and county of Newcastle upon Tyne. 2 vols. Lond. 1789.

Brosch, Moritz. Lord Bolingbroke und die Whigs und Tories seiner zeit. Frankfurt. 1883.

Brown, John. Horæ subsecivæ: John Leech and other papers. Edin. 1882.
The article 'A Jacobite Family' gives an account of Moir of Stoneywood of the '45.

Buchan, Peter. An historical and authentic account of the ancient and noble family of Keith, Earls Marischal of Scotland. Peterhead. 1820.

Contains biographical sketches of the noblemen attainted after the Risings.

Burton, J. Hill. The history of Scotland, from Agricola's invasion to the extinction of the last Jacobite insurrection. New edit. 8 vols. Edin. 1876.

——— A history of the reign of Queen Anne. 3 vols. Edin. and Lond. 1880.

——— Lives of Simon Lord Lovat, and Duncan Forbes of Culloden. Lond. 1847.

Cadell, Sir Robert. Sir John Cope and the Rebellion of 1745. Edin. and Lond. 1898.

A defence of Cope's tactics. Cf. *articles on Cope in the* 1745-46 *volumes of* '*The Gentleman's Magazine*' *and* '*The Scots Magazine.*'

Caledonian Medical Journal, The. Vols. iii. iv. Glasgow. 1899, 1900.

Has a series of articles by Dr. W. A. Macnaughton, entitled '*The Medical Heroes of the Forty-Five.*'

Cameron, Alexander. The history and traditions of the Isle of Skye. Inverness. 1871.

Campbell, Lord Archibald. Highland dress, arms, and ornament. Lond. 1899.

Campbell, James. Balmerino and its Abbey: a parochial history. Edin. 1867.

Some account of Balmerino in the '15, *and of Lord Balmerino of the* '45, *is on pp.* 236, 294.

Carruthers, Robert. The Highland note-book: or, Sketches and anecdotes. Edin. 1843.

Chalmers, Alexander. The general biographical dictionary of the most eminent persons in every nation. 32 vols. Lond. 1812-17.

Chambers, Robert. A biographical dictionary of eminent Scotsmen. 4 vols. Glasgow. 1832-35.

——— Domestic annals of Scotland, from the Revolution to the Rebellion of 1745. Lond. 1861.

——— History of the Rebellions in Scotland under the Viscount of Dundee and the Earl of Mar, in 1689 and 1715. Edin. 1829.

——— History of the Rebellion in Scotland in 1745, 1746. 2 vols. Edin. 1828.

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IV. NEWSPAPERS OF THE JACOBITE PERIOD

A considerable amount of local and general information is stored in the columns of the contemporary Press, though its files are not easily accessible. In the following list of English, Scottish, and Irish newspapers, the dates of their establishment are given. Of the London papers I have included only the official *Gazette*:—

ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS.

Birmingham . . .	*Aris's Gazette.* 1741.
Bristol	*Felix Farley's Journal.* 1715.
———	*The Bristol Times.* 1735.
Cambridge . . .	*The Chronicle.* 1744.
Canterbury . . .	*The Kentish Gazette.* 1717.
Derby	*The Derby Mercury.* 1732.

Exeter	*The Exeter Mercury.* 1718.
———	*The Protestant Mercury.* 1718.
———	*The Postmaster or Loyal Mercury.* 1718.
Hereford	*The Hereford Journal.* 1713.
Leeds	*The Leeds Mercury.* 1718.
Liverpool	*The Liverpool Courant.* 1712.
———	*The Liverpool Advertiser.* 1756.
London	*The London Gazette.* 1666.
Manchester	*The Manchester Weekly Journal.* 1719.
———	*The Manchester Gazette.* 1730.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	*The Newcastle Courant.* 1711.
Norwich	*The Norwich Postman.* 1706.
———	*The Courant.* 1712.
———	*The Weekly Mercury or Protestant's Packet.* 1720.
Salisbury	*The Salisbury Postman.* 1715.
———	*The Salisbury Journal.* 1729.
Stamford	*The Mercury.* 1695.
Worcester	*The Worcester Postman.* 1690.

IRISH NEWSPAPERS.

Pue's Occurrences. 1700.
The Dublin Gazette. 1710?
Falkener's Journal. 1728.
The Waterford Flying Post. 1729.
The Belfast News-Letter. 1737.
Esdaile's News-Letter. 1744.

SCOTTISH NEWSPAPERS.

The Edinburgh Courant. 1705.
The Scots Courant. 1706.
The Edinburgh Gazette. 1714.
The Edinburgh Evening Courant. 1718.
The Caledonian Mercury. 1720.
The Edinburgh Weekly Journal. 1744.
The Aberdeen Journal. 1748.

V. CONTEMPORARY MAPS AND PLANS ILLUSTRATING THE JACOBITE RISINGS

THE SURRENDER AT PRESTON. 1715.

In the British Museum [3230 (1)] there is *A map and plan of the town of Preston, with the batteries and barricades of the rebels and the attacks of the King's forces. An account of the victory obtain'd at Preston by the King's forces under the command of General Wells.* Lond. [1715.]

A plan of 'The taking of the town of Preston' is at p. 113 of S. Hibbert Ware's *The state of parties in Lancashire.*

THE BATTLE OF GLENSHIEL. 1719.

A plan of the battle by Lieutenant John Henry Bastide is in Dickson's *The Jacobite attempt of* 1719.

ROUTES OF THE HIGHLAND ARMY IN 1745-46.

Colonel J. A. Grante's *Carte où sont tracées les différentes routes que S. A. R. Charles Edward Prince de Galles a suivies dans la Grande Bretagne* [Paris. 1748] is in the British Museum [1135. (2)].

An English copy of Grante's map entitled *A chart wherein are marked out all the different routes of Prince Edward in Great Britain: and the marches of his army and the E-gl-sh: the sieges are distinguished, and the battles that were fought in his enterprise* [Edin. 1749] is in the British Museum [292. c. 29].

An undated map, published at Rome, entitled *Carte de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande où l'on voit tout le détail de l'entre-*

prise de S. A. R. Charles Prince de Galles, is in the possession of the Earl of Crawford.

John Finlayson's map, entitled *A general map of Great Britain; wherein are delineated the military operations in that island during the years* 1745 *and* 1746, is in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Among modern maps, by far the best is that in W. B. Blaikie's *Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward.*

THE BATTLE OF PRESTONPANS. 1745.

A plan of the battle, by 'an officer who was present,' is in the Library of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society. It is reproduced in Sir Robert Cadell's *Sir John Cope.*

Other plans are in Home, *History*; Ray, *History*; Hewins, *Whitefoord Papers; Gentleman's Magazine*, 1745, p. 521.

A non-contemporary plan, entitled *Sites of the battles of Pinkie and Preston Pans* [n. p. 1855] is in the British Museum [9055. (1)].

THE SKIRMISH AT CLIFTON. 1745.

A rare plan is in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. It is reproduced in Chancellor Ferguson's *Retreat of the Highlanders.*

Other plans are in Johnstone, *Memoirs*; Dougald Graham, *Impartial History.*

THE BATTLE OF FALKIRK. 1746.

In the British Museum [7406. (2)] there is *A map of the river Forth from Stirling to Barronstouness. A plan of the battle on Falkirk Muir, Jan. 17th*, $174\frac{5}{8}$. [n. p. 1746.]

There is a plan of the battle also in Home's *History.*

THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN. 1746.

John Finlayson's *Plan of the battle of Culloden and the adjacent country* [London. 1746?] is in the British Museum [9115. (3)].

Other plans are in Home, *History*; *Scots Magazine*, 1746, p. 217; Ray, *History*; Hewins, *Whitefoord Papers*; Boyse. *An Historical Review of the Transactions of Europe. Cf.* '*Hist. MSS. Comm.*,' Rept. II. 27.

INDEX TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

NOTE.—*The Roman numerals* (I), (II), (III), *refer to the three sections of the Bibliography:* I. *Contemporary Materials;* II. *Manuscript Materials;* III. *Non-Contemporary Works. The titles in thick type will be found in alphabetical order in each of the three sections.*

ABERCROMBY, Patrick. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (A. B. Grosart).

Aberdeen. (I) **Aberdeen**; **Allardyce**; **Anderson**; **Bisset**; **Maidment**; **Rebellion**; **Spalding Club.** (II) **Aberdeen Municipal MSS.**; **Albemarle Correspondence.** (III) **Kennedy**, William; **Watt.**

Æneas and his two sons. (I) **James Francis Stuart.**

Agnew, Sir Andrew. (I) **Agnew.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (H. M. Chichester).

Ahab's Evil. (I) **Stuart.**

Albany, Countess of. (I) **Alfieri**; **Foscolo**; **Reumont.** (II) **Braye MSS.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (A. C. Ewald); **Hayward**; **Lee**; **Saint-René Taillandier.**

Albemarle, Earl of. (II) **Albemarle Correspondence.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (H. M. Chichester).

Alberoni, Cardinal. (I) **Rebellion.**

Alexis. (I) **Charles Edward Stuart**; **Sydenham.**

Analecta Scotica. (I) **Maidment.**

Anderson, James. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. Cooper).

—— John. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (E. Radford).

Angus, Earl of. (I) **Dunkeld.**

Annandale, Marquis of. (I) **Fraser**, Sir William. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).

Anne, Queen, Histories of. (I) **Boyer**; **Lockhart**; **Oldmixon.** (II) **Finch MSS.** (III) **Burton**; **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (A. W. Ward); **Stanhope**; **Wyon.**

Anstruther, Sir William. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (J. M. Rigg).

Aquaviva, Cardinal. (II) **British Museum MSS.**

Argyle Papers. (I) **Maidment.**

Argyll, John, Duke of. (I) **Campbell**, Robert; **Maidment.** (II) **Argyll MSS.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).

Arnald, Richard. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (A. H. Bullen).
Arniston Memoirs. (I) **Omond.**
Ascanius. (I) **Campbell,** Alexander ; **Charles Edward Stuart.**
Asgill, John. (I) **Asgill.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (Leslie Stephen).
Ashton, Thomas. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (A. H. Bullen).
Attempts of 1708, 1719, The Jacobite. *Vide* Jacobite Attempts.
Atterbury, Bishop Francis. (I) **Atterbury ; Glover ; Stackhouse.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (J. H. Overton).
Auchterarder. (I) **Maitland Club.**
Ayliffe, John. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (G. P. Macdonell).

Baillie of Jerviswood, George. (I) **Baillie.**
—— Lady Grizel. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (A. B. Grosart).
Baine, James. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (A. B. Grosart).
Baker, Admiral John. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (J. K. Laughton).
Balfour of Burleigh, Lord. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (A. B. Grosart).
Balmerino, Lord. (I) **Balmerino ; Ford ; Kilmarnock.** (III) **Campbell,** James ; **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Banff. (III) **Watt.**
Barclay, Sir George. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Bar-le-Duc. (I) **James Francis Stuart.** (III) **Wolff.**
Battragh, W. (I) **Townley.**
Belford, General William. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (H. M. Stephens).
Berkeley, Earl of. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (J. K. Laughton).
Bernardi, Major John. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Berwick, I. (I) **Balmerino ; Townley.**
—— Maréchal de. (I) **Petitot ; Thornton.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (H. M. Stephens) ; **Wilson.**
Berwick. (I) **Rebellion.**
Betham, Dr. John. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. Cooper).
Bibliotheca Lindesiana. (II) **Crawford MSS.** (III) **Stuart.**
Bisset, Rev. John. (I) **Bisset ; Spalding Club.**
Blackader, Lieut.-Col. J. (I) **Crichton.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Blair Castle. (I) **Blair Castle.** (III) **Atholl.**
Blakeney, General, Lord. (II) **Albemarle Correspondence.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (H. M. Stephens).
Bland, General Humphrey. (II) **Albemarle Correspondence.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (H. Manners Chichester).
Blyde, A. (I) **Balmerino ; Townley.**
Bolingbroke, Viscount. (I) **Bolingbroke ; James Francis Stuart ; Thornton.** (III) **Brosch ; Collins ; Cooke ; Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (Leslie Stephen) ; **Harrop ; Macknight ; Skelton.**
Bovgard, Colonel Albert. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (H. M. Stephens).

Bowles, Major-General Phineas. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (H. M. Chichester).
Bracken, Dr. Henry. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (C. W. Sutton); **Hewitson**, W.
Bradshaw, J. (I) **Balmerino.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (J. Humphreys).
Bradstreet, Dudley. (I) **Bradstreet.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (J. T. Gilbert).
Braemar. (III) **Erskine.**
Brampton. (III) **Whitehead.**
Breadalbane, Earl of. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Brett, Admiral Sir Peircy. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (J. K. Laughton).
Brown, John. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (F. Watt).
—— Rev. John. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (Leslie Stephen).
Bruce, J. (I) **Gordon.**
—— Mr. (I) **Lang.**
Buchanan, Provost Andrew. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Bulkeley, Lady Sophia. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (J. Humphreys).
Burnbank Papers. (I) **Maidment.**
Burnet, Bishop Gilbert. (I) **Burnet.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (Osmund Airy).
Byng, Admiral George. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (J. K. Laughton).
Byrom, John. (I) **Byrom.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (Leslie Stephen).

Calderwood, Margaret. (I) **Calderwood.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (C. J. Robinson).
Cameron, Dr. Archibald. (I) **Cameron**; **State Trials.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
—— of Lochiel, Donald. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (J. Westby-Gibson).
—— Sir Ewen. (I) **Drummond.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
—— Miss Jenny. (I) **Cameron.**
—— Clan. (III) **Mackenzie**, Alexander.
Campbell, John. (I) **Paton.**
—— Clan. (III) **Argyll.**
Cappoch, Rev. T. (I) **Balmerino**; **Cappoch.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (Thomas Cooper).
Caprara, Cardinal. (II) **British Museum MSS.**
Carew, Bamfylde M. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (J. Ashton).
Carlisle. (I) **Mounsey**; **Townley.** (III) **Creighton**; **Jefferson.**
Carlyle, Dr. Alexander. (I) **Carlyle.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (F. Espinasse).
Carnwath, Earl of. (I) **Derwentwater.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).

Carpenter, Lord. (I) **Carpenter.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (H. Manners Chichester).

Carstares, William. (I) **Carstares.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (Æneas Mackay); **Story.**

Carte, Thomas. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (E. S. Shuckburgh).

Cary, Edward. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. Cooper).

Cathcart, Lord. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (W. P. Courtney).

Catholic Nonjurors, English. (I) **Estcourt.**

Chadwick, T. (I) **Balmerino**; **Townley.**

Charles Edward, Prince. (I) **Blaikie**; **Burton**; **Campbell**, Alexander; **Chambers**; **Charles Edward**; **Cordara**; **Dennistoun**; **Douglass**; **Durey de Morsan**; **Fraser**, Sir William; **Frederick II.**; **Gros de Boze**; **Grosart**; **Henderson**; **Home**; **Jesse**; **Johnstone**; **King**; **Klose**; **Lockhart**; **Macdonald**, Alexander; **Macdonald**, John; **Maceachain**; **Mackintosh**; **Macpherson**, James; **Mahon**; **Maidment**; **Maxwell of Kirkconnell**; **Palm**; **Paton**; **Pichot**; **Rebellion**; **Reumont.** (II) **Atholl MSS.**; **Braye MSS.**; **Drummond Murray MSS.**; **Eliot Hodgkin MSS.**; **Holdernesse MSS.**; **Kenyon MSS.** (III) **Charles Edward Stuart**; **Culloden**; **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (A. C. Ewald); **Dubois**; **Ewald**; **Hassell**; **Johnes**; **Klose**; **Lang**; **Mackenzie**, John; **Stuart.**

Chattan, Clan. (I) **Macpherson**, Alexander. (III) **Clan Chattan**; **Mackintosh**; **Shaw.**

Chevalier de St. George. (I) **Aberdeen**; **Argenson**; **Asgill**; **Bolingbroke**; **Brosses**; **Campana de Cavelli**; **Cartwright**; **Clarendon Historical Society**; **Dennistoun**; **Forbes**; **Forbin**; **Fraser**, Sir William; **Glover**; **Hooke**; **James Francis Stuart**; **Jesse**; **Ker**; **Keysler**; **Klopp**; **Klose**; **Leslie**; **Lockhart**; **Lovat**; **Macpherson**, James; **Madan**; **Mahon**; **Mar**; **Melfort**; **Paton**; **Patten**; **Perth**; **Petitot**; **Philalethes**; **Rae**; **Rebellion**; **Saint-Simon**; **Spottiswoode Society**; **Thornton.** (II) **Atholl MSS.**; **Braye MSS.**; **British Museum MSS.**; **Drummond Murray MSS.**; **Eliot Hodgkin MSS.**; **Elphinstone MSS.**; **Gualterio MSS.**; **Holdernesse MSS.**; **Morrison MSS.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson); **Kennedy**; **Lang**; **Roy**; **Wolff.**

Chisholm, Family of. (III) **Mackenzie**, Alexander.

Clarke, Peter. (I) **Paton**; **Ware.**

Clavering, E. (I) **Balmerino.**

Clement XI., Pope. (II) **British Museum MSS.**

Clerk of Penicuik, Sir John. (I) **Clerk.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (J. M. Rigg).

Clifton, The skirmish at. (I) **Ferguson**, Chancellor; **Home**; **Macpherson**, Alexander.[1]

Cluny, Ewen Macpherson of. (I) **Home**; **Macpherson**, Alexander. (III) **Clan Chattan**; **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).

[1] *Vide* also p. 108.

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Cochrane, Provost Andrew. (I) **Cochrane.**
Collingwood, George. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Colquhoun, Sir James. (I) **Fraser,** Sir William.
—— of Camstradden, Robert. (I) **Fraser,** Sir William.
Coltness Collections. (I) **Calderwood.**
Contrast, The. (I) **Rebellion.**
Cope, Sir John. (I) **Cope**; **Gentleman's Magazine**; **Gladsmuir**; **Home**; **Whitefoord.** (II) **British Museum MSS.** (III) **Cadell**; **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Cotton, Sir J. Hynde. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (W. P. Courtney).
Craigie, Lord Advocate. (I) **Jesse.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (J. M. Rigg).
Crawford, George. (I) **Spottiswoode Society.**
Cromarty, Lord. (I) **Gordon,** Sir John; **Kilmarnock.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Culloden, Battle of. (I) **Allardyce**; **Chambers**; **Culloden**; **Dennistoun**; **Fraser,** Sir William; **Home**; **Lockhart**; **Rebellion**; **Spottiswoode Society.** (II) **Cathcart MSS.**; **Andrew Lumisden's MSS.**; **Moray MSS.**; **Orderly Book**; **Richmond MSS.**; **Weston MSS.** (III) **Anderson,** Peter; **Culloden**; **Forsyth**; **Jenner.**[1]
Cumberland, Duke of. (I) **Henderson**; **Maclachlan**; **Rebellion**; **William Augustus.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (E. M. Lloyd).

Dalrymple, Sir David. (I) **Dalrymple**; **Spottiswoode Society.**
—— Sir Hew. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (Æneas Mackay).
Dangeau, Marquis de. (I) **Dangeau.**
Daniel, Captain. (II) **Captain Daniel's MSS.**
D'Arcy, Count. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (H. M. Chichester).
Daun, Count. (I) **Henderson.**
Dawson, J. (I) **Balmerino**; **Townley.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (Gordon Goodwin).
Deacon, T. T. (I) **Balmerino**; **Townley.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (Thompson Cooper).
Defoe, Daniel. (I) **Defoe.** (II) **Harley MSS.**; **Morrison MSS.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (Leslie Stephen).
Demetrius Soter. (I) **Gros de Boze.**
Derby. (I) **Allardyce**; **Charles Edward Stuart**; **Derby**; **Home**; **Rebellion.** (II) **Muncaster MSS.** (III) **Hutton.**
Derwentwater, Earl of. (I) **Derwentwater**; **Gordon**; **State Trials.** (III) **Derwentwater**; **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. Seccombe); **Gibson.**
Dick, Sir Alexander. (I) **Forbes.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (Rob. Harrison).
Donald, Clan. (III) **Macdonald,** A.; **Mackenzie,** Alexander.
Donnachaidh, Clan. (III) **Robertson.**
Draper, Sir William. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (H. M. Chichester).

[1] *Vide* also p. 155.

Dubois, Cardinal. (I) **Dubois.**
Du Deffand, Marquise. (I) **Du Deffand.**
Dumbarton. (I) **Dennistoun.**
Dundas, Solicitor-General. (I) **Omond.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (J. A. Hamilton).
Dundee, Viscount. (I) **Drummond**; **Dundee**; **Fraser**, Sir William; **Mackay**; **Maidment**; **Napier**; **Philip.** (II) **Fleming MSS.**; **Hamilton MSS.**; **Sutherland MSS.** (III) **Chambers**; **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson); **Morris.**
Dundee. (I) **Dundee.**
Dunkeld. (I) **Dunkeld.**

Edgar, James. (III) **Edgar.**
Edinburgh. (I) **Edinburgh**; **Maitland**; **Rebellion**; **Rose**; **Spalding Club**; **Stewart.**
Edinburgh Packet opened, The. (I) **Rebellion.**
Egerton MSS. (II) **British Museum MSS.**
Eguilles, Marquis d'. (I) **Eguilles**; **Pichot.** (III) **Eguilles.**
Elcho, Lord. (II) **Wemyss MSS.**
Elgin, Earl of. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Europe, The general history of. (I) **Mercury.**
Europe, The present state of. (I) **Mercury.**

Falkirk, Battle of. (I) **Eguilles**; **Falkirk**; **Home**; **Rebellion**; **Sheridan**; **Spalding Club.** (II) **Andrew Lumisden's MSS.**; **Moray MSS.**; **Richmond MSS.**; **Stewart MSS.**; **Trevor MSS.**; **Weston MSS.** (III) **Veitch.**[1]
Ferguson, Robert. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Fletcher of Saltoun, Andrew. (I) **Fletcher.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (F. Espinasse).
— G. (I) **Balmerino**; **Townley.**
Forbes, Lord-President Duncan. (I) **Allardyce**; **Culloden**; **Gordon**, Sir John; **Home**; **Rose.** (II) **Ross MSS.**; **Sutherland MSS.** (III) **Burton**; **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (Leslie Stephen); **Fraser.**
—— Bishop Robert. (I) **Chambers**; **Forbes.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (James Cooper).
Forbin, Comte de. (I) **Forbin.**
Forfar, Lord. (I) **Maidment.**
Forfeited Jacobite Estates. (II) **Forfeited Estates Commission**; **Public Records of Scotland.** (III) **Hewlett.**
Forster, Thomas. (I) **Newgate.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (A. Nicholson).
Fort Augustus. (II) **Albemarle Correspondence.**
Foscolo, Niccolò. (I) **Foscolo.**

[1] *Vide* also p. 129.

Fraser, Clan. (III) **Anderson**, John.
Frederick the Great. (I) **Frederick II.**

Gallienus Redivivus. (I) **Glencoe.**
Galloway. (I) **Agnew.**
Gardiner, Colonel James. (I) **Doddridge.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Garth, Sir Samuel. (I) **James Francis Stuart.**
Gartmore MS. (I) **Burt.**
Gascoigne, R. (I) **Gordon.**
Gask, Oliphants of. (I) **Oliphant.**
Gatt, James. (II) **James Gatt's MS.**
George I., Histories of the reign of. (I) **Oldmixon ; Rapin-Thoyras ; Rebellion ; Salmon.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (A. W. Ward) ; **M'Carthy.**
George II., Histories of the reign of. (I) **Hervey ; Smollett ; Walpole.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (J. M. Rigg) ; **M'Carthy.**
Glasgow. (I) **Cochrane.**
Glencoe. (I) **Dundee**, Viscount ; **Glencoe ; Maidment.**
Glenshiel, Battle of. *Vide* Jacobite Attempt of 1719.
Glover, Richard. (I) **Glover.**
Gordon, Admiral. (II) **Drummond Murray MSS.**
—— Sir John. (I) **Gordon.**
—— John. (I) **Gordon.**
—— of Avochy, John. (I) **Maidment.**
—— Duke of. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (J. Tait).
Graham, Dougal. (I) **Graham.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (W. G. Black).
—— John. (I) **State Trials.**
Grameid, The. (I) **Philip.**
Granby, Marquess of. (II) **Rutland MSS.**
Grange, Lord. (I) **Spalding Club.**
Grant, Sir Ludovick. (I) **Fraser**, Sir William.
Grants of Corrimony, The. (III) **Grant.**
—— of Glenmoriston, The. (III) **Sinclair**, A.
Grey, Mary. (I) **Clarendon Historical Society.**
Grimm, Baron de. (I) **Grimm.**
Gualterio, Cardinal. (II) **British Museum MSS.** ; **Gualterio MSS.**
Guthrie, Gideon. (I) **Wright.**

Hall, J. (I) **Gordon.**
Hamilton, J. (I) **Balmerino.**
—— Duke of. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (Alsager Vian).
Hamilton. (I) **Maidment.**
Hardwicke, Lord Chancellor. (III) **Harris.**
—— *MSS.* (II) **British Museum MSS.** ; **Seafield MSS.**

Harley, Robert (Lord Oxford). (II) **Harley MSS.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (G. F. R. Barker).
Haversham, Lord. (I) **Rebellion.**
Hawley, General. (I) **Edinburgh.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (H. M. Chichester).
Hay of Restalrig, John. (I) **Home.**
—— John (Earl of Inverness). (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Hesse, Prince of. (I) **Edinburgh.**
Hessians, Journal of route with the. (II) **Stuart MSS.**
Highlander Delineated, The. (I) **Highlands.**
Highlands, The. (I) **Allardyce**; **Browne**; **Burt**; **Drummond**; **Dundee**, Viscount; **Highlands**; **Johnston**; **Lang**; **Logan**; **Macdonald**, Charles; **Patten**; **Rebellion**; **Rose**; **Whitefoord.** (II) **Weston MSS.** (III) **Anderson**, John; **Campbell**; **Carruthers**; **Jenner**; **Keltie**; **Mitchell**; **Stewart.**
Historical Register. (I) **Rebellion.**
Home, John. (I) **Home.** (III) **Anti-Jacobin Review**; **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (F. Espinasse); **Scott.**
Hooke, Nathaniel. (I) **Hooke.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (W. A. J. Archbold).
Hume, Sir David. (I) **Hume.**

Inverness. (I) **Lockhart**; **Mackintosh.** (II) **Albemarle Correspondence.**
Inverugie. (III) **Boyd.**

Jackson, Lt.-Col. (II) **Albemarle Correspondence.**
Jacobite attempt of 1708, The. (I) **Forbin**; **Hooke**; **James Francis Stuart**; **Lockhart**; **Macpherson**, James; **Macky**; **Madan**; **Melfort**; **Mercury**; **Rebellion**; **North-Britain.** (II) **Montrose MSS.**
—— —— of 1719, The. (I) **Lockhart**; **Mercury**; **Rebellion.** (II) **Argyll MSS.**
—— prisoners and trials. (I) **Allardyce**; **Dalrymple**, Sir David; **Mackay**, William; **Manchester**; **Newgate**; **Paton**; **Rebellion**; **Rose**; **Spottiswoode Society**; **Wilkinson**; **York.** (II) **Aberdeen Municipal MSS.**; **Carlisle MSS.**; **Fitzherbert MSS.**; **Perth Municipal MSS.** (III) **Ewald.**
—— songs. (I) **Charles Edward Stuart.** (III) **Clyne**; **Hogg**; **Mackay.**
James II. (I) **Balcarres**; **Campana de Cavelli**; **Clarke**; **Clarendon Historical Society**; **Dalrymple**, Sir John; **James Francis Stuart**; **Klopp**; **Madan.** (III) **Macaulay**; **Vaughan**; **Wilson.**
Johnstone, Chevalier de. (I) **Johnstone.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (J. G. Alger).
Jordan-Hill Papers. (I) **Maidment.**

Keith, Field-Marshal. (I) **Henderson**; **Keith.** (II) **Elphinstone MSS.** (III) **Buchan**; **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (F. Hindes Groome); **Paczynski-Tenczyn**; **Peterheadian**; **Varnhagen.**

Keith, family of. (III) **Buchan.**
Kenmure, Viscount. (I) **Derwentwater; Gordon.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Ker of Graden, Colonel. (I) **Chambers.**
—— of Kersland, John. (I) **Ker.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Keysler, Johann. (I) **Keysler.**
Killiecrankie, Battle of. (III) **Killiecrankie.**
Kilmarnock, Earl of. (I) **Ford; Foster; Kilmarnock.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (N. Groves).
Kindeace Letters. (I) **Rose.**
King, William. (I) **King.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (G. A. Aitken).
Kirk, Colonel. (I) **Loch Alsh.**
Knox, J. (I) **Gordon.**

Lancashire. (I) **Ware.** (III) **Fishwick.**
Lancaster (I) **Tildesley.** (III) **Simpson.**
Layer, Christopher. (I) **Layer.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (G. Goodwin).
Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm. (I) **Klopp.**
Leith, A. (I) **Balmerino.**
Leslie, Charles. (I) **Leslie.**
Leven and Melville, David, Earl of. (I) **Rebellion.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
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Ligonier, Field-Marshal. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (H. M. Chichester).
Lochaber. (III) **Norie.**
Loch Alsh. (I) **Loch Alsh.**
Lochgarry's Memorial. (I) **Blaikie.**
Loch Lomond Expedition. (I) **Dennistoun.**
Lockhart, George. (I) **Lockhart.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
—— *Papers.* (I) **Lockhart.**
Logan, William. (I) **Logan.**
London. (III) **Doran.**
Lorraine, Duc de. (I) **James Francis Stuart.**
Loudoun, Earl of. (II) **Albemarle Correspondence.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Lovat, Lord. (I) **Arbuthnot; Atholl; Culloden; Drummond; Fraser,** James; **Fraser,** Major; **Fraser,** Sir William; **Lovat; Macpherson,** Alexander; **Spalding Club; Spottiswoode Society.** (II) **Sutherland MSS.** (III) **Anderson,** John; **Burton; Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson); **Mackintosh.**
Loyall Dissuasive, The. (II) **Loyall Dissuasive.**

Lumisden, Andrew. (I) **Dennistoun.** (II) **Lumisden MSS.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Lyon, R. (I) **Balmerino.**
Lyon in Mourning. (I) **Chambers**; **Forbes**, Bp. Robert.

Macallester, Oliver. (I) **Macallester.**
M'Combie, Family of. (III) **Smith.**
Macdonald of Glengarry, Alastair. (II) **Macdonald of Glengarry's MS. Letter-Book.** (III) **Lang.**
—— D. (I) **Balmerino.**
—— Flora. (I) **Home**; **Macdonald**, Alexander. (III) **Boswell**; **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson); **Jolly**; **Macgregor**, Alexander; **Wylde.**
—— John. (I) **Macdonald.**
—— of Glengarry, John. (III) **Macdonald**, A.
—— of Keppoch, Clan. (III) **Macdonald**, Angus.
Macdonell of Barisdale, Archibald. (I) **Macdonald.**
—— Colonel John. (I) **Macdonell.**
Maceachain, Neil. (I) **Blaikie**; **Maceachain.** (III) **Macdonald**, Marshal.
Macgregor, Clan. (I) **Dennistoun**; **Nimmo.** (II) **Duncan Macpharic.** (III) **Macgregor**; **Macleay.**
Mackay, Major-General Hugh. (I) **Mackay.** (II) **Hamilton MSS.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson); **Mackay.**
—— Clan. (III) **Mackay**, Robert.
Mackenzie, Clan. (I) **Loch Alsh.** (III) **Mackenzie.**
Mackintosh of Borlum, Brigadier William. (I) **Rose.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (H. M. Chichester).
—— Clan. (III) **Shaw.**
Macky, John. (I) **Macky.**
Maclean, Clan. (III) **Maclean**; **Sinclair**, John.
Macleod, Lord. (I) **Fraser**, Sir William; **Gordon**, Sir John; **Rose.**
—— Clan. (III) **Mackenzie**, Alexander.
Macneil, Captain. (I) **Loch Alsh.**
Macpharic or Macgregor's MS., Duncan. (I) **Nimmo.** (II) **Duncan Macpharic.**
Macpherson, Captain James. (I) **Macpherson.**
Manchester. (I) **Byrom**; **Manchester**; **Townley.** (II) **Kenyon MSS.** (III) **Harland**; **Manchester**; **Reilly.**
Mann, Sir Horace. (I) **Mahon**; **Walpole.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. Seccombe); **Doran.**
Manners, Lord George. (II) **Rutland MSS.**
Mansfield, Lord. (I) **Mansfield.**
Mar, Earl of. (I) **Allardyce**; **Bolingbroke**; **Hardwicke**; **Macpherson**, Alexander; **Maidment**; **Maitland Club**; **Mar**; **Patten**; **Rebellion**; **Sheriffmuir**;

Sinclair; **Thornton.** (III) **Chambers**; **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Marchmont, Earl of. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (G. F. R. Baker).
—— *Papers.* (I) **Marchmont.**
Marischal, George, Earl. (II) **Elphinstone MSS.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Marlborough, Duke of. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (Leslie Stephen).
Mary of Modena, Queen. (I) **Madan.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (A. W. Ward).
Matheson, Family of. (III) **Mackenzie**, Alexander.
Matignon, Maréchal de. (I) **Hooke.**
Maxwell, James. (I) **Maxwell of Kirkconnell.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Melfort, Duke of. (I) **Melfort**; **Spottiswoode Society.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (J. G. Alger).
Melville, George, Earl of. (I) **Fraser**, Sir William; **Melville.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Melville, General. (I) **Blair Castle.**
Metcalf, John. (III) **Metcalf.**
Miller, Captain. (I) **Lovat.**
Milton, Lord. (I) **Home.**
Miscellanea Scotica. (I) **Maidment.**
Mitchell, Sir Andrew. (I) **Bisset**, Andrew. (II) **British Museum MSS.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (F. Espinasse).
Modena, Duke of. (II) **British Museum MSS.**
Moidart. (I) **Macdonald**, Charles.
Moir of Stoneywood, James. (I) **Spalding Club.** (III) **Brown.**
Morgan, D. (I) **Balmerino**; **Townley.**
Muirlaggan. (I) **Home.**
Munro of Foulis, Sir Robert. (I) **Rose.**
—— —— family of. (III) **Mackenzie**, Alexander.
Murray, Lord George. (I) **Atholl**; **Blaikie**; **Blair Castle**; **Chambers**; **Culloden**; **Home**; **Spottiswoode Society.** (II) **Atholl MSS.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
—— of Broughton, John. (I) **Murray of Broughton.** (III) **Chambers**; **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).

NAIRN, Lord. (I) **Derwentwater.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Nairn. (I) **Home.**
Newcastle MSS. (II) **British Museum MSS.**
Newcastle-upon-Tyne. (I) **Pickering**; **Rebellion**; **Wesley.** (III) **Brand.**
Nicolson, Bishop. (I) **Paton.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (W. P Courtney).

Nithsdale, Earl of. (I) **Antiquaries**; **Derwentwater**; **Fraser**, Sir William. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Nugae Derelictae. (I) **Maidment.**

Occasional Writer, The. (I) **Grant.**
Ochtertyre MSS. (I) **Ramsay.**
Oliphant of Gask, Laurence. (I) **Oliphant.** (III) **Anderson**, Joseph; **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Oracle of Avignon. (I) **James Francis Stuart.**
Orléans, Duchesse d'. (I) **Orléans.**
Ormonde, Duke of. (I) **Rebellion.** (II) **Eliot Hodgkin MSS.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (A. W. Ward).
—— *Papers.* (II) **Eliot Hodgkin MSS.**
Oxburgh, Colonel. (I) **Gordon.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. Seccombe).

Patten, Rev. Robert. (I) **Patten.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (H. Paton).
Patullo, Mr. (I) **Home.**
Paul, Rev. ——. (I) **Gordon.**
Perth, Duke of. (I) **Maidment.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (J. G. Alger).
—— Earl of. (I) **Perth.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (Osmund Airy).
Perth. (I) **Perth**; **Spottiswoode Society.** (II) **Perth Municipal MSS.** (III) **Marshall.**
Perthshire. (III) **Marshall.**
Portland, Earl of. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (A. W. Ward).
Power, Colonel. (I) **Palm.**
Preston, Battle of. (I) **Carpenter**; **Paton**; **Ware.** (III) **Hewitson.**
Prestongrange, Lord. (I) **Grant.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (G. F. R. Barker).
Prestonpans, Battle of. (I) **Cope**; **Doddridge**; **Fraser**, Sir William; **Gladsmuir.** (II) **Andrew Lumisden's MSS.** (III) **Veitch.**[1]

Rae, Peter. (I) **Rae.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (E. I. Carlyle).
Ramsay, John. (I) **Ramsay.**
Ratcliffe, Charles. (I) **Penrice**; **Ratcliffe.**
Ray, James. (I) **Ray.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (A. Nicholson).
Revolution in Scotland (1689). (I) **Balcarres**; **Dalrymple**, Sir John; **Drummond**; **Dundee**, Viscount; **Dunkeld**; **Fraser**, Sir William; **Highlands**; **Mackay**; **Macpherson**, James; **Melville**; **Mercury**; **Napier**; **Philip.** (II) **Denbigh MSS.**; **Domestic State Papers**; **Fleming MSS.**; **Hamilton MSS.** (III) **Chambers**; **Mackay**, John; **Morris**; **Story.**
Ripperda, Baron. (II) **British Museum MSS.**
Rising of 1715. (I) **Aberdeen**; **Allardyce**; **Bolingbroke**; **Campbell**, Robert; **Carpenter**; **Clarendon Historical Society**; **Crichton**; **Culloden**; **Dalrymple**, Sir David; **Dennistoun**; **Dunbar**; **Dundee**; **England**; **Fraser**, Sir William; **General Assembly**; **Gordon**, John; **Grant**; **Grosart**; **James**

[1] *Vide* also p. 73.

Francis Stuart; Keith; Lockhart; Lovat; Macky; Macpherson, Alexander; Mahon; Maidment; Maitland; Maitland Club: Mar; Melfort; Mercury; Newgate; Paton; Patten; Penrice; Perth; Philalethes; Rae; Rapin-Thoyras; Ratcliffe; Rebellion; Rose; Salmon; Sheriffmuir; Sinclair; Spottiswoode Society; State Trials; Stuart; Wallace; Ware; Wodrow; Wright, C. (II) Aberdeen Municipal MSS.; Argyll MSS.: Crawford MSS.; Domestic State Papers; Drummond Murray MSS.; Fleming MSS.; Home Office Records; Inverness MSS.; Marchmont MSS.; Montrose MSS.; Perth Municipal MSS.; Treasury Papers. (III) Bain; Burton; Chambers; Charles; Creighton; Fillan; Fishwick; Hassell; Hewitson; Hozier; Roper; Scott; Thomson; Watt.

Rising of 1745. (I) Allardyce; Atholl; Balmerino; Biggs; Bisset; Blaikie; Blair Castle; Boyse; Browne; Cameron; Campbell, Alexander; Carlyle; Chambers; Charles Edward Stuart; Cope; Cordara; Culloden; Dennistoun; Derby; Doddridge; Douglas; Dunbar; Durey de Morsan; Edinburgh; Eguilles; England; Falkirk; Ferguson; Fraser, Sir William; General Assembly; Gentleman's Magazine; Gladsmuir; Gordon, Sir John; Graham; Grant; Grosart; Henderson; Home; Jesse; Johnstone; Kilmarnock; Klose; Lang; Lockhart; Lovat; Macdonald; Maceachain; Mackay, William; Mackintosh; Maclachlan; Macpherson, Alexander; Macpherson, James; Mahon; Maidment; Maitland; Marchant; Maxwell of Kirkconnell; Mounsey; Murray of Broughton; Nimmo; Omond; Palm; Paton; Pichot; Pickering; Ramsay; Ray; Rebellion; Rose; The Royalist; The Scots Magazine; The Scottish Journal; Sheridan; Smollett; Spalding Club; Spottiswoode Society; State Trials; Stewart; Stirling; Stuart; Sydenham; Townley; Wesley; Whitefoord; Wilkinson; William Augustus; Wright. (II) Aberdeen Municipal MSS.; Atholl MSS.; British Museum MSS.; Cathcart MSS.; Carlisle MSS.; Crawford MSS.; Captain Daniel's MS.; Domestic State Papers; Drummond Murray MSS.; Fitzherbert MSS.; Fleming MSS.; James Gatt's MSS.; Home Office Records; Inverness MSS.; Kenyon MSS.; Lawson MSS.; Lonsdale MSS.; Andrew Lumisden's MSS.; Duncan Macpharic; Moray MSS.; Morrison MSS.; Muncaster MSS.; Orderly Book; Perth Municipal MSS.; Richmond MSS.; Roxburghe MSS.; Rutland MSS.; Seafield MSS.; Signet Library MSS.; Stewart MSS.; Stuart MSS.; Sutherland MSS.; Trevor MSS.; Wemyss MSS.; Weston MSS. (III) Anderson, Peter; Bain; Brand; Burton; Cadell; Caledonian Medical Journal; Chambers; Charles; Creighton; Doran; Ewald; Fillan; Fishwick; Harland; Hassell; Hewitson; Hozier; Jefferson; Manchester; Mackintosh; Metcalf; Norie; Roper; Scott; Scottish Antiquary; Sleigh; Smail; Struthers; Thomson; Tulloch; Veitch; Watt; Whitaker; Whitehead; Wright, Robert.

Robinson of Hartburn, John. (I) Royalist.

Rob Roy Macgregor. (I) Dennistoun. (II) Montrose MSS. (III) Dictionary Nat. Biog. (T. F. Henderson); Macleay; Millar.

Rose of Kilravock, Alexander. (I) **Rose.**
Ross of Kindeace, David. (I) **Rose.**
—— of Pitcalny, Alexander. (II) **Ross MSS.**
Ross-shire. (III) **Bain.**
Roxburghe, Duke of. (II) **Roxburghe MSS.**

SAINT-SIMON, Duc de. (I) **Dangeau ; Saint-Simon.**
Scotch Adventure, The. (I) **Charles Edward.**
Seaforth, Lord. (I) **Rose.**
Sempil, Lord. (II) **Albemarle Correspondence.**
Sheridan, Sir Thomas. (I) **Sheridan.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (E. I. Carlyle).
Sheriffmuir, Battle of. (I) **Maidment ; Sheriffmuir ; Spottiswoode Society.** (II) **Montrose MSS.**
Sherlock, Bishop. (II) **Weston MSS.**
Signet Library MSS. (II) **Signet Library MSS.**
Sinclair, John, Master of. (I) **Sinclair.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Skye. (III) **Cameron.**
Sobieski, Princesse Maria Clementina. (I) Gilbert ; **James Francis Stuart.**
Sophia, Electress. (I) **Klopp.**
Stair, Earls of. (I) **Graham,** John M ; **Hardwicke ; Henderson.** (II) **Cathcart MSS.; Stair MSS.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (Æneas Mackay ; T. F. Henderson ; H. Manners Chichester).
Steele, Sir Richard. (I) **Mar.**
Stewart, Provost Archibald. (I) **Stewart.**
Stirling of Keir, James. (III) **Fraser,** Sir William.
—— —— John. (III) **Fraser,** Sir William.
Stirling. (I) **Home ; Stirling.** (II) **Albemarle Correspondence.**
Stirlingshire. (I) **Nimmo.**
Stowe MSS. (II) **British Museum MSS.**
Strachan, Patrick. (I) **Allardyce.**
Strange, Sir Robert. (I) **Dennistoun.** (II) **British Museum MSS.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (Coutts Trotter).
Stuart, Captain James. (I) **Spalding Club.**
—— House of. (I) **Klopp ; Mahon ; Peyton ; Stuart ; Thornton.** (III) **Crawfurd ; Dubois ; Kennedy ; Noble ; Stewart ; Stuart ; Townend ; Vaughan.**
—— *Papers.* (I) **Bell ;** Browne ; **Campana de Cavelli ; Glover ; Macpherson ; Madan ; Mahon ; Thornton.** (III) **Lang.**
Sutherland, Earl of. (I) **Fraser,** Sir William. (II) **Sutherland MSS.**
Sydall, Thomas. (I) **Balmerino ; Townley.**
Sydenham, Henry. (I) **Sydenham.**

TARENTUM, Duke of. (III) **Macdonald,** Marshal.
Thistle, The. (I) **Mansfield.**

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Thoms, Family of. (III) **Smith.**
Tildesley, Thomas. (I) **Tildesley.**
Tindal, Nicholas. (I) **Rapin-Thoyras.**
Towneley Jacobite MSS. (I) **Grosart.**
Townley, Francis. (I) **Townley.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (A. Nicholson); **Harland.**
Trémouille, Cardinal de la. (II) **British Museum MSS.**
Tullibardine, Marquis of (Duke of Atholl). (I) **Atholl.** (II) **Drummond Murray MSS.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson).
Tweeddale, Marquis of. (I) **Home.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (J. Tait).

Union of 1707, The. (I) **Baillie**; **Fletcher**; **Hume**; **Lockhart**; **Luttrell**; **Macpherson**, James; **North Britain**; **Wallace.** (II) **Finch MSS.**; **Harley MSS.**; **Morrison MSS.** (III) **Laing**; **Mackinnon**; **Struthers.**

Wade, Marshal. (I) **Allardyce**; **Burt**; **Highlands**; **Johnston.** (II) **British Museum MSS.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (C. Dalton).
Walkinshaw, Clementina. (II) **Braye MSS.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (F. H. Groome).
Walpole, Horace. (I) **Walpole.**
Wanderer, The. (I) **Charles Edward Stuart.**
Waugh, Chancellor John. (I) **Mounsey.**
Wentworth Papers. (I) **Cartwright.**
Wesley, John. (I) **Wesley.**
Westmoreland. (I) **Ferguson**, Chancellor. (II) **Lonsdale MSS.**
Whitefoord Papers. (I) **Whitefoord.**
Widdrington, Lord. (I) **Derwentwater.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (J. A. Herbert).
William III., Histories of the reign of. (I) **Carstares**; **Dalrymple**, Sir John; **Kennet**; **Oldmixon.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (A. W. Ward).
Wodrow, Rev. John. (I) **Wodrow.**
Wogan, Charles. (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (Andrew Lang).
Wolfe, Colonel James. (I) **Spottiswoode Society.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (E. M. Lloyd); **Wright.**
Wood, A. (I) **Balmerino.**

York, Henry Benedict, Cardinal. (I) **Klose**; **Mahon**; **Pichot.** (II) **Braye MSS.** (III) **Dictionary Nat. Biog.** (T. F. Henderson); **Dubois.**
York. (I) **Wright**; **York.** (II) **Fitzherbert MSS.**
Young Chevalier, The. (I) **Charles Edward Stuart.**
Young Juba. (I) **Charles Edward Stuart.**